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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2035

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'LISTY' COMPARES POLISH, CZECHOSLOVAK DEVELOPMENTS

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, May 82 pp 7-9

[Article by Dalimil: "Poland and Us, IV"]

[Text] One should think about Poland and our country without anger or prejudice in this spring of 1982, more than a quarter century after Soviet tanks shot to pieces the Hungarian attempt at socialism in freedom, just about 15 years from the moment when these same tanks steamrollered the Czechoslovak illusion of socialism in democracy, and 3 months from the day when these same tanks, only this time with crews in Polish uniforms, put an end (at night, as always) to what was so far the longest lasting and, in its way, the most profound attempt to link with socialism the true interests of the working man, such as human individuality. Without anger or prejudice. But how is this possible, when in hopeless powerlessness we again notice how the waves of idealism, the yearning for a truly better, more just, more human life, for life in accord with the traditions of this or that people are shattered by the mute, insensitive dam of Soviet military power, conscious only of itself and defending its imperial interests.

In the sixties in relatively liberal Prague, Poles visiting from Gomulka's Poland would say, "We are your future." Today the question is whether dismal, gray, colorless, silent and terrorized Prague is the future of Warsaw. Just as Prague did in 1969, so now Warsaw today rather looks to Budapest. Jaruzelski is a patriot, no Stalinist, a potential Kadar. So was Husak for many people and undoubtedly for himself, in his own eyes. Like Jaruzelski. If, in 1969, you had shown Husak the Czechoslovakia of 1982 he would have become angry, he would not have believed it, he would have accused you, as only he can (though clearly not he alone) of inveterate animosity and devilish propaganda. But nevertheless, the distance from Prague to Budapest is today stepped off by tens of thousands of Czechoslovaks with their own experiences, and they return with their eyes full of questions: Why didn't it work here? A well-known Western journalist who knows Czechoslovakia well from the past and who recently visited Prague again put the question another way: In Budapest the name Kadar is an expression of a wide-ranging consensus of Hungarians. In Czechoslovakia of the sixties, the name Novotny was mentioned daily as the expression of a consensus with the opposite connotation. The only name today which one does not hear for 2 weeks at a time, which no one pronounces, from ministers to dissidents, is the name or the word Husak. Why?

The name Jaruzelski had until recently in Poland been a symbol of hope, of that part of them which Poles associate with the nation and the uniform. Even the military coup was presented to them and to the world in this name and with these connotations. Today this same name is for Poles a symbol at the same time of betrayal and political perfidy, and likewise of clear, but quite different hopes: Hopes that the governor in a Polish uniform will prevent the worst, prevent Warsaw from becoming Prague. The problem is that the logic of development after nights such as 21 August or 13 December often turns out to be of another sort. In Prague, that night brought to power the dregs of the political fauna which, in order to maintain themselves in power have enthusiastically assisted in making Czechoslovakia the most colorless, most dreary of the Soviet protectorates. In Poland, this same fauna is clawing its way to power on the backs of soldiers and under the protection of police thugs, because these, rather than bayonets, are, as everywhere, the instruments of normalization. The Polish path to unpronounced names has been going on now for only 3 months. This path is for the most part unknown, because the Polish WRON [Military Council of National Salvation] is like the cape of the sinsiter magician, covering the manipulating fingers in which one day these names will appear. And with these names normalized daily life.

At this point three questions, perhaps four, are appropriate.

The first of these is, why Hungary? In light of the Polish tragedy, we submit for consideration: The Hungarians, on the basis of their own bloody experience, were the first to comprehend that the USSR will never permit in its sphere a division of power, and that a certain nationalization of the Soviet model is possible only with the retention of its fundamental dominant characteristics, i.e., a centralized government through a party and police apparatus both of which, though each separately, are subordinate to Moscow. Only in this way will the USSR be sure of the loyalty of its vassals and permit an expanded role for unions, greater independence for enterprises, a certain form of market mechanism, the limited restoration of individual initiative and even a certain amount of freedom of artistic expression and scientific research. Only with this guarantee, behind this dam of security could a society have been realized which is represented (in contrast to contemporary Czechoslovakia, but not only to it) by intelligent, capable people, whose work brings at least the partial possibility for self-realization, and between whom and a state of the Soviet type bearing the high-flying banner of Hungarian history (to the point of unpleasanliness with Russia) and Hungarian tradition there exists almost a relationship of mutual trust.

In Poland, the events of 1956 were handled by what is referred to as "our own forces," and in Czechoslovakia 1956 had almost no impact. There was, therefore, an absence of Hungary's bloody experience, allowing the illusion to persist that the Soviet model can be reformed, that the USSR will allow such reforms whether because it perceives their importance or out of necessity, and that in this way a socialist system can arise which will have all the characteristics of Western democratic socialist tradition without the anathema of the USSR pronounced over it. Both the victors and the vanquished drew their own conclusions from the smashing of the Czechoslovak attempt of 1968. The victors concluded that only the thorough Sovietization

of Czechoslovakia would bring permanent security to its government and again make the CSSR a privileged ally of the USSR. The result is contemporary Czechoslovakia, that wretched, formless mass of dynamite, around which everyone tiptoes so as not to set it off, in the useless hope that grass will grow and the dynamite will somehow evaporate into the atmosphere. Those others, in an attempt "to keep a clear conscience even in defeat" have decided that the destruction of the Czechoslovak spring has its cause in traditional Czech cowardice, caution, lack of political culture, the absence of political leaders, etc., etc., in errors which the political movement made at that time and which brought about, or at least provided the excuse for Soviet intervention. Not to mention the fact that this was a matter of a revolt of intellectuals, while, for instance, in Poland...

What about Poland, then? Poland clearly attempted to avoid the "Czechoslovak" mistakes, clearly mobilized the working class earlier than was the case in 1968 Czechoslovakia, certainly designated the intelligentsia as an assisting organ in the social process (such as, for instance, the brain), made great mention of Polish national tradition, including the tradition of armed resistance to intervention and occupation and the national traditions of the army. On the whole, however, the Polish movement was based on the same illusion with the Hungarian as was the Czechoslovak, an illusion which is in categorical conflict with the Hungarian experience of 1956. And Poland ended up as did Czechoslovakia, perhaps worse, who knows. Let us leave for Czech analysts the errors and shortcomings of the Czech national character as the main causes of the August catastrophe, even though they continue to delve into them in light of the more recent Polish experience, and say to the Poles the following: The channel, the single channel in the dialogue between the government and society in the Czechoslovakia of the period of normalization has been the butcher. A full table, and along with it a cottage, a car, for little work, without his own effort, from state largess, in a world of corruption such as was undreamed of in the Ottoman Empire or the Russian Tsardoms, this has been the price for the quiet of a cemetery. Something similar is hardly possible in contemporary Poland. And so the sole channel in the dialogue with the military or party government (it is still a single police force) remains the church. The events since the end of last year have given it a position which is even more crucial than it had before. The party represents nothing at all, and the army and the police represent only an apparatus for coercion. An agreement is in the air similar to the one drawn between Italian fascism and the Vatican. The problem remains that Italian fascism had the support of a large percentage of the people, including the working class. The Polish working class- and farmer-generals do not have this. On the other hand, they do have the Soviet Union. Polish real socialism of the normalization period is already today being built on these fundamental pillars. Its components will clearly be jointly state and church controlled unions as the organ of dialogue over an empty counter, surrounded by uniformed apparatchiks. And the principal victim will be the intellectuals, the intelligentsia. The Hungarian vision appears, then, to be just as illusory for Poland as for Czechoslovakia. In the final analysis, the Hungarian man in the street has never in history enjoyed such a standard of living and such a measure of freedom as he now has in Kadar's Hungary. And this may not be said in any sense about either Poland or Czechoslovakia.

And what of the USSR? And what is its model, then? The USSR has long had this model for its satellites, and it is not and has never been that of Kadar's Hungary. This model is the GDR. In the GDR, uniform discipline has long been the order of the day, the Soviet model, supplemented by the Prussian tradition (which is not so far removed from the tradition of tsarism, even regarding resources). In this framework there is, finally, a place even for consumption, and for a certain degree of union participation in decision-making at the factory level. But not for liberalism, and democracy is last of all. But this area has never known democracy and there is a question whether the majority actually miss it at all. And beyond the wall is the FRG, which pays a large part of the overhead costs and provides freedom-loving spirits sufficient possibilities, both existential and expressional, whenever it appears that they have had enough of the Prusso-Saxon principality. Here the nationalist idea is sort of a sufficiently colorless Germanness which has survived the failure of the attempt to create an enteratic patriotism, and the dangerous and still ongoing attempt to rehabilitate the Prussian tradition. This corresponds in most of the remaining countries in Soviet Eastern Europe to a dusty Slavicness, the inapplicability of which likewise in its own way plays into the hands of the Hungarians and Romanians.

Does this mean, then, that in the light of the smashing of the Polish reform attempt there is no alternative but to accept the "GDR model" and to attempt to do what we can with it? At the present moment this is clearly the case, and this is also the idea which is today becoming dominant in certain ruling circles in Prague. In the USSR, the militarization of the economy and the Soviet model as a whole will clearly continue even after the change in trimmings, and with this as well the cult of the Prussian tradition (in which, let us not forget, there was even a place for a piece of enlightenment, on the condition that everything was under firm control from above and that everyone knew the meaning of quod licet Iovi...).

The pacification of Central Europe, however, has already been going on for 35 years, and the results so far have not been the best. In this sense, the pacification of Poland is a long-range and clearly unsolvable problem. The resistance of national cultural and political tradition to the violently imposed Russian graft will continue, and the national organisms will continue to reject the implantation of the foreign organism. In this sense, maybe even the USSR would finally make peace with the existence and development of national cultures in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, on the condition that they will not oppose the executive control of every movement from above. Until such time as history answers the question of whether economic development and scientific progress truly lead necessarily along the path of democracy, these are clearly the prospects for the Central and Eastern European region. From the Czechoslovak viewpoint, one would then wish that the control of the spirit by decidedly unenlightened people be at least replaced by more enlightened individuals. As under every absolutism, including its contemporary real socialist variant, it is not a matter of indifference who rules. And as in every absolutism, it is precisely this which is for the most part a matter of historical chance.

BULGARIA

DEFENSE MINISTRY ANNOUNCES CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION TO MILITARY ACADEMIES

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 29 May 82 p 6

[An Announcement of the Ministry of National Defense for Admission of Cadets and Scholarship Holders of the Ministry of National Defense for the School Year 1982-83]

[Text] A. Admission of Cadets to the Military Academies

The military academies will admit young people for the following programs and terms of education:

People's Military Academy "Vasil Levski"--Veliko Turnovo

1. Commanding officers--4-year term of education: motorized infantry and border troops, tank troops--active service.
2. Commanding engineers--4-year term of education: automotive, engineering, chemical and rear troops.
3. Engineers--5-year term of education: tank troops--technical.
4. Political officers--4-year term of education.

People's Artillery Academy "G. Dimitrov"--Shumen

1. Commanding officers--4-year term of education: ground artillery, anti-aircraft artillery, artillery-instrumental reconnaissance and cartography.
2. Engineers--5-year term of education: artillery armament, radiotechnical troops--radiolocating stations, radiotechnical troops--automated guiding systems, antiaircraft technical troops.
3. Political officers--4-year term of education.

People's Air Force Academy "G. Benkovski"--Dolna Mitropoliya

1. Commanding engineers--5-year term of education (4.8 years for a pilot); pilot in the Bulgarian civil aviation, airman-navigator and staff air force.

2. Engineers--5-year term of education: use and maintenance of the flying machines, use and maintenance of the electrical and automatic equipment of the flying machines, use and maintenance of the radio equipment of the flying machines, communication and radio-technical signaling, aircraft weapon systems.

3. Pilots for the agricultural aviation--3-year term of education.

People's Naval Academy--"N.Y. Vaptsarov"--Varna

1. Commanding engineers--5-year term of education: captain in the navy, captain in the civil fleet.

2. Engineers--5-year term of education: ships' power machines and mechanisms --navy, ships' power machines and mechanisms--civil fleet and radio location.

3. Political officers--5-year term of education.

Those who graduate from the military academies are given the degree (rank) of lieutenant-engineer (lieutenant) and their civil education and qualification in the respective field is recognized.

Young people meeting the following conditions can apply to military academies: they should have completed a high school education with a minimum aggregate grade 12.00 (GPA from the diploma and the grades in the subjects which are taken into consideration in determining the aggregate grade), they should not be older than 23 years, and the applicants for pilots--21 years (the age is calculated on 1 September), they should be physically healthy, they should not be married, they should not have been convicted, they should be active members of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, and they should be willing to devote themselves to military service.

The following subject grades from the diploma are included in determining the aggregate grade rating:

--for political officers--Bulgarian history, Bulgarian language and literature;
--for chemical troops--chemistry and mathematics;
--for all the other programs--mathematics and physics.

The cadet applicant should personally fill out and submit to the head of the military academy through the local military command (those in service, through their unit commander) the following documents: application form (approved by the local military command), diploma for completed high school education or a copy of it, autobiography (curriculum vitae), birth certificate, certificate showing no previous conviction, conscription health certificate, pedagogical character from high school, a contest card, declaration that he will serve in the Bulgarian military forces (Bulgarian civil aviation--BGA), water transport and ocean fishing for not less than 10 years, and a document for privilege.

These documents can be submitted in the same order by young people who wish to apply simultaneously to civil VUZ (Higher Educational Establishments) and a military academy.

The deadline for submitting the documents is 7 July 1982 but for those who have graduated before 1982 and those in military service, it is 5 June 1982.

Every young man will have the right to apply to only one military academy for all programs according to the order of preference.

All cadet applicants must report to the military academy they have applied to not later than 1400 hours on 10 August, and the applicants for pilots and navigators at the People's Air Force Academy "G. Benkovski", not later than 1400 hours on 26 July 1982.

The cadet applicants take a competitive examination in a special subject and in general culture and political training.

The special subjects for the competitive examinations are as follows:

--for political officers--Bulgarian history, and for the applicants to People's Naval Academy "N.Y. Vaptsarov"--mathematics;
--for officers in the chemical troops--chemistry;
--for all other programs--mathematics.

The written competitive examinations will be conducted according to curricula and lists of questions for the competitive examinations in the civil higher educational institutions. For admission to the chemical troops--the questionnaire for chemistry for the universities and chemicotechnological higher educational establishments.

The dates for conducting the examinations are as follows:

--on 11 August--mathematics;
--on 12 August--history;
--on 13 August--general culture and political knowledge;
--on 14 August--chemistry.

The examinations in People's Air Force Academy "G. Benkovski" are only for pilots:

--on 27 July--mathematics;
--on 29 July--general culture and political knowledge.

Cadet applicants in this program have the right to take the examinations with the applicants for the other programs in the academy. The grades they receive can be used in the other programs shown on their documents.

All cadet applicants who successfully pass the examinations will have physical and psychological checks of their qualifications and also will undergo a medical examination.

The physical abilities of the applicants will be checked in the following events and norms: not fewer than 6 pull-ups on the horizontal bar, not more than 15.5 seconds in the 100 meter dash, not more than 4.10 minutes in the

1,000 meter cross-country, (only for People's Naval Academy "N.Y. Vaptsarov") not more than 3.00 minutes in swimming of 100 meters.

Every applicant should provide his or her own sports attire.

The psychological qualities of the applicants will be checked by special methods developed in the military academies.

The medical examinations will be conducted according to the requirements of the regulation for diseases and physical handicaps.

The applicants for pilots will have to undergo a special aviomedical examination.

During the competitive examinations in the military academies, all applicants are provided with room. Applicants who in the service travel with military travel documents and receive also food at presenting food certificate.

B. Admission of Cadets to Higher Institute of Physical Education "G. Dimitrov"

The young people who apply for cadets in the Higher Institute for Physical Education "G. Dimitrov" in the program of physical education for the Bulgarian People's Army should meet the requirements for cadets in military academies. They file their application documents in VIF (Higher Institute for Physical Education) "G. Dimitrov" according to the requirements of the Reference Book for Students-Applicants for 1982-1983. Through the local military command, where they are registered, they send the following documents to the head of AShVSM "Chavdar" [Athletic School for Young Servicemen] Sofia: application form, curriculum vitae, birth certificate, certificate showing no previous conviction, privilege certificate, copy of a diploma for completed high school education, and a declaration that they will serve in BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] not less than 10 years after graduating from the institution.

The documents should be filed in the local military command until 7 July 1982.

The conditions and order for conducting the examinations are stipulated in the regulation for admission of students to VIF "G. Dimitrov" for the school year 1982-1983.

People who are in the service and are not to be discharged this year are not allowed to apply.

The young people admitted to the program of physical education in BNA have the same rights and obligations as the other cadets in military academies.

Those who successfully complete their education will be given the rank of lieutenant and will be appointed in the BNA.

C. Admission of Scholarship Holders of MNO [Ministry of National Defense]

Young people meeting the requirements for cadets in military academies are admitted as MNO scholarship holders.

Young people are admitted in the following programs:

--medical doctors--in the medical institutes in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna and Pleven;
--dentistry--in the faculties of dentistry in Sofia and Plovdiv;
--pharmacology--in the pharmaceutical faculty in Sofia;
--physics--in SU [Sofia University] "Kliment Ohridski";
--meteorology--in BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences].

The applicants for scholarships file their documents as everybody else in higher educational establishments according to the rules governing the application for universities. Those who successfully qualify with a grade rate above the determined minimum for the given institute of higher education, after announcing the results of the competitive examinations, file an application form in the local military command. Together with the application, they should submit a curriculum vitae, medical certificate from a military hospital--for discharged conscripts, medical conscription certificate--for those who have not yet been drafted, health certificate--for the conscripts, certificate to prove that they have no previous convictions, certificate for their aggregate grade result from the higher education establishment where they have applied and taken the examinations, and a declaration that they will serve in BNA for not less than 10 years after they have graduated.

Those admitted as scholarship students and who have not served their regular term in the military will begin their studies after they have served it.

The BNA scholarship students are accepted in active service and are appointed as officers in BNA after their graduation.

Additional information can be obtained by the military academies, local military commands, commanders of units (for the conscripts), as well as from the guide book for student applicants for 1982 year.

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NEMETH DISCUSSES ROLE, RESPONSIBILITY OF BASIC ORGANIZATIONS

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 6, Jun 82 pp 5-13

[Article by Karoly Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee: "The Place of the Basic Organizations in the Party's Work"; based on remarks delivered at the Prague conference of Central Committee secretaries of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries]

[Excerpts] Our experience reinforces that universally valid Leninist truth that only that party is able to fulfill the role of leadership and direct successfully the building of socialism which can in its own ranks ensure theoretical, political, organizational, and action unity. Our very first obligation is to strengthen this, protect it and renew it in harmony with the new tasks. Our party's political line and unity are unbroken because it considers the specific conditions of implementing the unchanged socialist goals and principles. We profess that continuing along our main line of direction cannot mean rigidity and conservatism, but exactly the opposite, it requires constant renewal, conforming flexibly to the changing circumstances and regeneration of unity.

We must not interpret party unity in absolute terms, and we must not feel that if it has come into existence, it will be so forever. For each new task we must come to unity again and again, from the Central Committee to the basic organizations. Only this can ensure the party's ability to lead and mobilize the masses for the successful implementation of the next tasks. Protecting the party's unity requires a constant battle against erroneous views and distortions, and requires theoretical and political convincing work where it is applicable, and also organizational bylaws where the situation calls for it. We can lead the masses truly if every party organization and every communist represents with conviction the party's policies, and stands on and acts on its theoretical basis. This is the only way the party's credit can grow, this is how its internal unity and closeness with the masses outside the party can become stronger.

In our experience, the development of the correct position requires that the various views be contrasted in debates in the party's forums. It is a law of our party's life that the membership weighs the theoretical and political questions in a meritorious exchange of ideas. We attribute great significance to creative debate in the basic organizations, where the membership's actual

participation in shaping policy, in working out the tasks, and in making and implementing the decisions can develop. It is important that every party member be able to freely express his opinion and receive answers to his suggestions and observations. Only that debate satisfies the party's interests which actually helps clarify the issues, the right decision and unified action.

We connect freedom of debate with party discipline, which is required of everyone, and with the strict observation of organizational principles and of the correct party framework. It is not only the right but also the obligation of a party member to express his observations, viewpoint, suggestion, reservation and possible opposition in the party's forums. If this is done elsewhere than the appropriate forum, it by all means indicates shortcomings in the party's life and discipline, which weakens unity. The debate also places on the basic organizations the obligation to renew and protect unity. They must wage battle for an exchange of ideas which is indispensable for progress, is helpful and which opens up actual alternatives, and they must take a stand against unproductive, self-serving and divisive verbosity. Our experiences shows that this purpose is not yet fulfilled in all of our party organizations. We are also trying to promote a worthy exchange of ideas by seeing to it that the party members are in possession of the appropriate knowledge and information.

It is indispensable that the majority decision after the debate be followed by unanimous implementation on the basis of party discipline which is mandatory for all communists alike. We cannot make exceptions from the unshakeable principles of the structure of our party's organization ever, anywhere, for anyone. We must touch upon this also in the correlation that views are gaining strength in the international communist movement according to which democratic centralism is no longer suitable for today's--so-called--modern needs. Some people question the right of centralism to life and consider it obsolete. We know of no historical experience which proves this anti-Marxist concept.

We profess that general agreement on the principles and tasks is not enough--the deed is the test of real agreement. Unfortunately, it still happens that in important questions the general agreement is not joined by the specific actions of some basic organizations and some party members. Such an agreement reflects [only] formal unity.

It can be said that there is broad-based agreement in our party, for example, on the issues of distribution on the basis of work done, differentiation in the payment of wages, better utilization of working hours, stronger discipline and thriftiness. And yet, it is a fact that some basic organizations and some communists do not adequately promote the solution of these problems in their own backyards. Therefore, we must also strengthen in the basic organizations the united action manifesting itself in deeds.

From the viewpoints of party unity, the growth of party democracy, identification and correction of errors, and education of the people, our party attributes great significance to criticism and self-criticism.

We encourage our basic organizations to develop conditions under which everyone can make his critical observations without disadvantageous consequences; but at the same time, intrigue must not be given space under the guise of criticism. We have included the protection of those who criticize in our organizational bylaws and made it mandatory to responsibly handle the critic's observations. Our efforts have produced some results, but in this area the improvement in the basic organizations is not satisfactory. Therefore, we must further strengthen the spirit in which the communists take an open stand against absurdities, so that criticism and self-criticism may be real, specific and personal.

We are taking a definite stand against apathy toward errors and against such unprincipled evaluations and differentiations--seen on occasion--when the critical observation and judgment is tailored according to its target. We do not consider such behavior acceptable. Critical identification of the problems and mistakes--regardless of to whose or which organ's work it is aimed--is not only the right of communists but also their obligation.

Our party has never lost sight of the fact that there is no party unity without discipline, but at the same time the everyday level of party unity also affects the membership's disciplinary situation. Therefore, it is an important task of our basic organizations to constantly labor to strengthen party discipline, which is also one of the important indicators of the maturity of the party's life, and of the level of work done in the basic organizations. Our party has increased the requirements on its members in accepting and openly representing politics. The basic organizations are playing a role which cannot be replaced by anything else in how good the party's disciplinary situation is. Credit is due to the basic organizations also for the overwhelming majority of our party membership living and working according to our moral standards: They fulfill their obligations in an exemplary manner, appropriately exercise their rights, unselfishly serve the public interests and exhibit a modest and disciplined behavior. It is due in part to this that even under the changing and complicated circumstances, there is unity, order and discipline in our party. Even if not in large numbers, nevertheless cases do occur when some party members, including leaders, abuse their power and position, and erode the party's moral stock. The communities of the basic organizations can do much--and this is also their obligation--that no one should be able to harm the party's moral standards without punishment.

Economy is an important area of implementing the party's leadership role. Politics--so Lenin teaches--is concentrated expression of the economy. In this spirit, our party pays particular attention to constructive economic work. The importance of this is underlined by the fact that there is not one single area of our social life whose growth does not depend on the results of economic work. We must also take it into consideration that the foreign conditions of constructive economic work have changed unfavorably, and our economy has reached an intensive stage of growth where it needs more resources. All this also makes new, higher demands on the party's economic directing, organizing and control work, and on the party organizations operating directly in production. We cannot act as if nothing had changed

around us. Our party could not fulfill its role of leadership if it thought that way. A situation has developed to which we must flexibly adjust ourselves, and which requires greater activity, better, higher quality work, courageous and progressive initiative by all party organizations.

Our economic policy which takes on a specific format in the medium-range plan and in the national economy's annual plans, and which has been approved by the 12th Party Congress, also represents an action program for every organization of our party. It is expressed in our national economic plans that economic policy considers the facts of reality, changing circumstances and our opportunities. This means that we are planning more moderate economic growth than in the past, in harmony with our opportunities, for the present five-year plan period. We have made it a goal for ourselves to solidify our results, protect the achieved standard of living and make progress in improving the national economy's equilibrium. Our party organizations have done and are doing much work in the interest of getting the working masses to judge our economic situation realistically, support our efforts and understand that hard work must be done even for more modest results than before.

Just as other socialist countries are doing, this country is also in the process of shifting the economy over onto the track of intensive growth. In many respects, this makes different and qualitatively higher demands on the economic management, on implementation, and--in connection with this--also on the party's work. We must use the available financial and intellectual resources in a better planned manner than before, and with a better degree of efficiency. In each link of the chain of economic activity, as well as in the state and cooperative sectors, increasing the productivity of work, improving the profitability and international competitiveness of our products are emphasized tasks. We must place technological development, plant and work organizations rational thriftiness, especially with materials and energy, financial and moral incentives, as well as socialist labor competition, in the service of this goal.

We are focusing the economic directing, organizing and controlling work of the party organizations on implementing the efficiency and quality requirements. In this connection, we are placing emphasis on ideology-developing political work because the processes of intensive growth can develop only in possession of the appropriate ideology. It is necessary for leaders and subordinates to realistically judge our economic situation and to adopt our goals as their own, to participate actively and by taking the initiatives in mobilizing the reserves which do in reality exist, often not even requiring additional investments. In identifying these and in improving the indices of the quality of economic operation we intend to give an important role to the production movements of the workers, and to socialist labor competition. We are concentrating the efforts of our party organizations and also encouraging the trade union and youth organs to make increasing efficiency and improving quality the main goals of the labor competition. For this we are requesting the assistance of the socialist brigades, the innovators and the inventors. It is also a constant task of our party organizations to keep track of the political effects of economic measures, of what consequences individual decisions have on the situation of the workers and as a result of this, on their political mood.

The party's economic policy provides the direction for all state organs and economic operating units. The party's directing and control of the economy must also serve to implement this. We do not consider the leadership role the party also has in the economy to be such that the party organization has to make the decision in every question in a given area. If the party organization interferes unnecessarily and in too much detail in the economy's concrete matters, this in our experience leads to problems. Identical and parallel handling of matters weakens the responsibility of the economic management and unnecessarily removes the party's resources from political work. It is important that along with the party organization's political guidance the economic management, the trade union and the youth organization also perform their work in accordance with their own spheres of authority and responsibility.

We also allow no room for such ideas--manifested on occasion--according to which the party should occupy itself with politics and the economic management with the economy. The party organizations, in our opinion, must take a stand in all cases where the party's economic policy and the interests of the national economy stand to be injured. But they must be careful not to take over the tasks and responsibilities of the economic managers. They must concentrate their attention on making sure that the economic activity performed in their area of operation is in harmony with the party's economic policies, and support the progressive efforts of the economic management with all the tools of political work. They must pay much attention to the human factors of production, to cadre work, to training and advanced training.

Our party organizations must independently decide whether in the areas under their authority the measures taken by economic management are in harmony with our economic policy and with society's interests. Identifying and coordinating the various interests is no easy job. It is important for the party organizations to adequately sense the presence of the various interests and their effects, and find a way to coordinate these interests by which they can increase the direct interests of the individual workers and collectives in actions which serve the common interest. For this, it is indispensable that plant democracy should grow, and its forums operate in a meaningful way. Our efforts aimed at broadening and deepening the democracy of the working place, of the plant is closely related to the recognition that when the situation is more difficult, then there is an even greater need for thinking together. No matter how smart and how well prepared the leadership of an area is, it cannot do without the great strength concealed in the properly interpreted--and not only formal--practicing of socialist democracy. The complicated tasks ahead of us in the economy require that as many constructive ideas and progressive initiatives be given life as possible.

The changes in our political, social and economic circumstances, and reinforcement of the relationship between the party and the masses require that the working style, working methods, and the directing and controlling activities of our party be perfected and that the Leninist standards of the party's life be implemented. In this way, we can also avoid the always reappearing dangers of work becoming overbureaucratized, insensitivity toward the problems of the masses and repeating mistakes.

Our party is conducting open and honest politics, its main method is convincing. It considers its own activity to be the self-sacrificing service of the people, and it condemns all manifestation of abuse of power and bossiness. This is a communist style deriving from our principles, and the better it permeates the work of the party organs and organizations, the more successfully we can overcome the tasks before us. We see that the masses understand the problems and support us in overcoming the difficulties, if we openly and honestly identify them, if we ask and request their support and attentive opinion.

Maintaining and improving our working methods must never be removed from the agenda. Our Central Committee has recently evaluated its own working methods and obligated the regional party organizations to proceed similarly. Before this year is over, the basic organizations will also review their working methods, and evaluate how well collective leadership, party democracy and party discipline are implemented in their activities, and how good are the activity and action unity of communists. All these also serve to rid the party's work of the elements of formality and of excessive administration and unproductive meetings which draw away the party's attention from political work and which also place a lot of unnecessary burden on the basic organizations. We are paying attention to see that the directing party organs not interfere in minute details in the work of the basic organizations which would also damage their independence and responsibility, and they not overload them with various obligations. We also expect that in most basic organizations there be no free lancers, and the party's work be done on the social basis.

The success of the party's work is determined to a large extent by how well the party's life is organized, and whether the membership meeting, the most important forum of the leadership and communists gathered into the basic organization, fulfills its calling. Our experience shows that the membership meeting is a creative workshop for developing joint thinking and unified action, and cannot be replaced by anything else. Considering also the experience of the fraternal parties, a few years ago we, too, introduced the well-proven system of annual end accounting membership meetings. We couple its preparation with individual discussions covering each member. These exchanges of ideas about timely domestic and foreign political issues, the party's policies, and the party member's work, life and problems represent the outstanding event in the party's life each year. They provide useful experience for the entire party.

Solving the tasks of the basic organizations requires the leadership to be well-functioning bodies in all respects, and the members to be respected communists in the community, and have the appropriate political experience. The secretary of the basic organization fills a key role in insuring that collectivity, equal rights, and personal responsibility consistently prevail in their activities.

The basic organizations carry a great responsibility in the ideological and political education of the party's members and in forging the party's older and younger generations into a unified communist community. We are paying

attention to this also because the ideological-political education of the party's members, among them the new party members, and their fitting into the organization are time-consuming processes; and conscious, unified action can only be the result of this. The behavior and action readiness of the party's members develop according to how well we help them in acquiring the Marxist-Leninist ideology and in learning the historical experiences of the movement, of the party. Only those communist communities which are ideologically and politically solid and which act in unity can fulfill the tasks assigned to them in implementing the policies, spreading and defending our principles. These party organizations are able to follow with attention the political effects of our actions in their areas of operation and to reliably report on these. Knowing the opinion and having the reports of the basic organizations, the party's leadership can accurately evaluate the actual situation and the changes in it, can consider on time the problems ready for solution, and can follow the development of the public's mood. We are paying much attention to making use of the experiences of the basic organizations in preparing the decisions of the higher party organs. We are careful that the information coming from the basic organizations should reflect reality in all aspects.

The level of the work of the party organizations is closely related to the activity of the party organ that directs them. The elected organs play a definitive role in directing, aiding, and controlling the basic organizations. Our principle and practice that an elected organ may be directed only by elected organs, is being implemented. And the job of the apparatus is to prepare decisions as assigned by the elected body, and to help carry them out. The main line of work is designated by the directing party organs by their resolutions, in harmony with the party's policies.

In the focal point of our attention is to create unity of content between directing and practical implementation, that our goals be reached in the front line of the party's work the way we decided on them. But this cannot be examined unilaterally, exclusively from the side of the basic organizations; and the basic organizations cannot be blamed solely for the shortcomings seen in the work they do. We are fighting against the concept according to which things are going well "up above," the problems are generated "down below." Such qualifications are not fair and do not reflect reality because often the weaknesses of implementation can be traced back to the shortcomings in the very work of the directing organs. The activity of the directing party organs is qualified primarily by the level of the work of the basic organizations.

Our party's central organs, the Politburo and the Secretariat regularly place on their agendas questions related to the work of the basic organizations; they have the party organs of the megyes and jaras report on the work they do in directing and assisting the basic organizations. This is how examination of the work of basic organizations active in the major factories, in residential districts, in educational institutions and in artistic life takes place. Regular participation of the members of the central and regional elected organs in the events of the basic organizations, first of all in the membership meetings, is important in the relationship of the higher party organs and the basic organizations.

The Central Committee and its organs also pay much attention to providing direct information to the basic organizations. The TITKARI TAJEKOZTATO [Information from the Secretary] published monthly, and the magazine PARTELET [The Party's Life] fill an important role in this. The departments of the Central Committee aid the work of the basic organizations with methodological guides and timely reasoning material. Meetings of the secretaries of basic organizations are held regularly in our party. They are held combined, or according to the character of the basic organizations, depending on the situation. Their main purpose is to provide information on the resolutions of the leadership organs, developing unified ideology, receiving reports, furnishing mutual information, consultation and exchange of experience.

8584
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'DIE ZEIT' NOTES POLAND'S SITUATION WITHOUT WESTERN AID

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German No 24, 11 Jun 82 p 12

[Article by Peter Bender: "Poland Cannot Get Out of the Quagmire by Itself--Without Western Aid, Almost Certain Catastrophe"]

[Text] Six months after martial law was imposed, no solution appears in sight in Warsaw. Good intentions are cancelled out by bad practice.

Warsaw, May/June--When Janos Kadar in 1957, and Gustav Husak in 1969, were confronted with a political shambles, they at least had their economy. Hungary and Czechoslovakia were ruined spiritually but not economically. For Wojciech Karuzelski, this escape route is blocked. He cannot offer prosperity in place of freedom--on the contrary: the disappointed social expectations are linked with failed political hopes and have led to redoubled indignation or insurmountable resignation. It is feared by some that social misery and the sense of hopelessness may trigger political unrest.

After the steep price increases in February, not even all items available on ration cards are being bought--according to calculations by the Labor Ministry, about 10 percent are not utilized. In the matter of meat, often the lower quality is more difficult to get than the better; good meat has become extremely expensive.

Starting Again at Zero

The standard of living has fallen by a third, according to official estimates, and it will probably sink further in the near future. By the mid-1980's, Poland is supposed to reach the point where it was at the end of the 1970's (by no means a rosy time!)--but even that is only a chance that will take great effort. At present, the minimum wage, including compensatory payments for price increases, stands at 4,910 zlotys, the minimum pension being somewhat lower. Five thousand zlotys constitute the "social crisis minimum" as calculated by the Labor Ministry, a kind of biological minimum. Of greater political importance than the poorest are the broad masses whose social advancement was curtailed radically. A worker in Gdansk, age 36, with wife and two children, has a good income, an apartment, furniture and

almost enough savings to buy a car. Now, he says, he practically has to start again at zero. Even his good income is not sufficient for the cost of living, and the savings for the car are gradually being eaten up.

The political situation among students can also become explosive. One student answered the question as to the sense and purpose of active opposition by saying: "[Even] if I am not in opposition, I have as little as I have now, while in opposition. The few thousand zlotys I get as a young university graduate--they do not interest me."

And there seems to be no political solution in sight. Independent experts report that the opposition is increasingly better organized and acts with the protection of innumerable "sympathizers"; none of the Solidarity leaders that went underground have been caught; instead, their opinions on the situation make the rounds in the form of illegal writings.

The demonstrations at the beginning and middle of May were the first public proof of strength; the tough police reaction (not everywhere) has probably inspired, rather than dampened, the spirit of resistance, especially among the young. But the urge--and the enjoyment--of showing it to the "powers that be," also moves older people.

At seven thirty in the evening when Polish TV newscasts begin, people go into the streets in some places, stroll demonstratively back and forth, to make clear what they think about TV propaganda. Somehow or other, an appeal was made not to buy newspapers on Wednesdays--and actually, newspaper vendors are reported to be stuck with part of their papers on Wednesdays.

All of this is pointless when it comes to tangible success. In order to understand this Polish refusal, however, one must ask for the reasons rather than the goals. Between August, 1980 (creation of an independent trade union) and December, 1981 (declaration of martial law), something happened in Poland which is no longer reversible. There was almost unrestricted freedom, not for just an instant, as in Hungary in 1956, not just for 6 months, as in Czechoslovakia in 1969. The Poles had become accustomed to conditions in which they could counter state arbitrariness. For the first time in 30 years, they were no longer the object, but the subject of politics. The truth was not only expressed, but also acknowledged. The speeches about the party as vanguard of the working class collapsed, as the working class represented itself, against the party.

Everybody saw that the emperor was naked--and now it is impossible to go back to the claim that he has clothes on. It is impossible to reconcile the masses with the "power" without letting them share in the power. It is impossible to develop the economy, society and public life as long as everything comes from above, nothing from below. However, if one asks the opposition about a concept which transforms this necessity into policy, it becomes evident that there is none, and that is not considered a deficiency: "In history, it has always been that way; at first came the movement, then the concepts and the talents followed."

The opposition remained what it was, a political force, but untamed and unpredictable; and as long as illegality and internment continue, it would be unrealistic and unfair to expect anything else. Judging its possibilities, there is nonviolent refusal for one, which may be useful. Uncontrolled state power can only be kept within its limits if limits are set for it. Only a decisive "No" forces the rulers to compromise--however, one must oneself be ready and capable of compromise.

The other possibility is an uncompromising, or even violent, resistance. It strengthens the "people of concrete," the hawks among the leadership--everybody knows it, but some are evidently no longer disturbed by that, but ready to give battle: "They cannot kill everyone. They cannot ship everyone to Siberia. They cannot lock up everyone." Again a self-confidence is apparent which recalls the illusory feeling of strength with which the leadership of Solidarity brought about disaster last fall.

The government leadership also remained what it was--and this has a connection with 13 December. Jaruzelski's military action had a chance, under two preconditions:

Not only did the opposition groups have to be overruled, but also the party--only this could have given the army credibility as the savior of the nation. This had been proposed, and even today, one meets in Warsaw, but not in influential circles, with the hope for the 18th Brumaire [reference to the French Revolution] and Jaruzelski as its first consul.

Immediately after establishing military rule, a concrete and rapidly implemented program had to follow which proved that freedoms were temporarily suspended in order to make their permanence possible.

Since the first precondition does not exist, the second can only be fulfilled half way, at best. The 13th of December did not only enforce calm, but it also saved the party. The Polish state is reverting into a Communist state; as yet, the party bureaucracy has not regained its power, but ruling without or against it is not possible. Since reform is primarily a question of "cadres," Polish intentions to reform are hindered in the same way as in all Communist countries: the functionaries, especially those of middle rank, who gained their positions through loyalty and not through achievement, dilute, bend and spoil most of it.

Too Weak for Reforms

The decisive question which divides opinions among the leadership and the apparatus is the period from 1980 to 1981. One side knows that it cannot be undone, the other side would like to wipe out even the memory of it. From conviction, one side takes Jaruzelski's declaration of 13 December seriously: "All significant reforms will be continued under conditions of order, objective discussion and discipline." The others believe that both party and leadership are too weak to afford substantial reforms and the "dialogue" with the opposition. One side is almost desperate over the lost chance of a timely Polish model drawing on its own strength; the others

know that they are still in their seats only because this model did not materialize.

The consequence is a policy riddled with contradictions. The government attempts something, the conservatives block it, the apparatus neutralizes its implementation. Good intentions are constantly cancelled out by bad practice.

Reconciliation is being proclaimed, but persecution takes place. Understanding is being sought, but the partner, the people, is treated as if it were not of age. (Probably nothing hurts Jaruzelski more than the inane propaganda, especially on television. What is meant to convince has become a nightly insult to the nation's intelligence.) Good university legislation is passed, but the rector of Warsaw university is pushed out of office. Factories are to administer themselves, but the respective law remains suspended.

The major political problem, the fate of Solidarity, was to be solved through "dialogue"; now it is officially said that Solidarity would not return because more than one trade union is connected with this name. Solidarity has become a myth, a promise for general freedom and prosperity. But whoever uses this argument should grapple all the more energetically with the "pure" question of trade unions; but from the beginning, it was put at the end of the agenda: First, industry must move again and administer itself, then one would see what workers still needed in the way of trade unions.

This sounds as if necessity was being made into a virtue here: what cannot be accomplished politically is to be gained through economic reform, which generally seems to be seen as a panacea. Since the laws of the marketplace and the pressure for initiative demand new thinking and a different type of person than does an 'economy by command,' it is thought that the example of modern economic management would gradually catch on and would also modernize the state and society.

Perhaps a meaningful concept, but effective only in the long term. To date, there are many good plans in Warsaw for the day after tomorrow, but today's problems block the road there. Poland probably has the best government since the 1950's, Parliament is working harder and more efficiently than ever before, and passes good laws for the most part, but that is hardly acknowledged by the country. It is increasingly doubted, or denied, that there are different, even opposing, forces at work at the top: Those who sit at the top are simply "they" who possess power and sinecures.

A Nation Divided

Even at the beginning of 1981, Warsaw used this political conjugation: I want, you want, he wants, we want, you want--why don't they want too? Yet this radical separation from "them" is new; in Poland, the gap between the people and the political establishment had been smaller than in other comparable countries. Above all, there was a broad center, people in important offices, who had preserved an impressive inner and outer

independence. This middle group has now shrunken and threatens to dissolve gradually. Opinions are more polarized, there are fewer people capable of a dialogue with both sides; it is becoming more and more difficult not to take sides.

On the one side, there is "verification": Whoever attracted unpleasant attention, had been denounced, or wanted to retain an important post, must prove his loyalty to the government. Sometimes this is only a matter of form, sometimes personal enmities and "sniffing out attitudes" have a field day. On the other hand, anyone working for the government is considered a collaborator. The opposition is forever composing new lists with the names of "Kollas" [collaborators], and setting up codes of honor and behavior for professional groups, for instance, scientists and journalists. Result: economic pressure from above, moral pressure from below.

The nation is divided, and bridging the gap fails, partly because neither side is capable of it or wants it. Where bridging the gap is still attempted, it does not progress because neither side believes that the other is really ready for the compromise whose necessity most of them realize in theory. But even if the moderates of both sides could come to an agreement--they could not implement it because the hawks in both camps would not permit it.

The church, also, which for a long time had ventured far into the political field as an honest broker, has recently been holding back. Mediation becomes meaningless where an accord seems impossible. Furthermore: the church also is part of the nation, and is caught up in, and weakened by, the polarization of opinions.

Should she mediate or come down on the side of the people? Should she forego her influence and impact in order to survive this time, also, as guardian of Polish civilization, and to have even greater authority later on? Or is the church, as the only independent and impartial body in the nation, obligated to risk her very standing, therefore herself, in order to avoid a national catastrophe?

Ethics of loyalty and responsibility--that is the question not only for the Polish church, but the West also must face it. Nobody conversant with the situation believes that Poland can pull itself out of the quagmire by its own bootstraps. Whatever is begun in Warsaw gets caught up in circles. Relaxing martial law--increased opposition--increased repression. Economic movement only after political advance, but little happens politically as long as the economy is at rock bottom.

If there is any force at all which could break through this [vicious] circle, it is the Western industrial states. More than half of Polish industry needs, directly or indirectly, supplies or spare parts from the West. An economic reform is meaningless, says one church representative, as long as industry is not even working for lack of materials.

Whatever one would like to support politically in Poland--economic recovery is perhaps not the key, but the prerequisite. Whoever thinks differently is carrying out a policy of catastrophe. If the West does not help, Poland remains in the hands of Soviet aid; it is not adequate by far, but it has its political effect, as long as it is the only one. Is that in the West's interest?

The Americans think that Poland is Moscow's problem, since the Soviet system is the cause of the Polish disaster. But this cannot be a European or German viewpoint. Poland is an European country which fell under this system because of Germany's fault--it ought to become evident now whether the decade-long speeches about German responsibility were more than just rhetoric.

But it will not become evident. Even last year, when Solidarity was still in full bloom, we did nothing for economic reasons; since 13 December the condition of martial law allows us to continue doing nothing without having scruples. Poland may drag along for a long time between depressions and repressions, or it may get very dark there, very quickly. That Western aid will save Poland is not at all sure; but that the catastrophe will come without this aid, is almost certain. We should be aware even today that we stood by, doing nothing.

9917
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WARSAW PROVINCE PARTY MEETINGS NOTED

Plenary Meeting on Housing

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Apr 82 p 8

[Article by staff writer Irena Szaczkus: "Plenary Meeting of the Warsaw Capital City Voivodship Committee PZPR--"Housing Is as Important as Food"]

[Text] In Warsaw and the Capital City Voivodship some 230,000 cooperative members and paidup candidates compete for cooperative housing; 20,000 apartments are needed to house families from technically endangered [condemned] places. It is necessary to add one more figure to complete the housing situation picture the Warsaw urban complex: the current average waiting time for the "keys" is 15 years. An increase in housing construction is as important today as an assurance of feeding the populace of the capital city [Warsaw].

Yesterday [31 March 82], the plenary session of the Warsaw Committee PZPR deliberated the prospects of making up the deficiencies in housing construction. The deliberations, opened by Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, were characterized by a deep interest and objectivity. Many presentations contained solid recommendations.

Where to Build?

To put it simply: any hopes for solution of the housing problem in Warsaw and the Capital City Voivodship met with disappointment. From year to year fewer units are being constructed, the lowest results were achieved in the past year--barely 11,000 apartments in bloc construction. Prospects for this year are not much brighter; it is anticipated that only about 2,000 more keys will be handed over.

Any acceleration of the housing construction rate depends on solution of several immediate and important problems.

Up to 30 percent of new houses today are being put on land that has not been prepared for construction [paving, sewer, water, power and service lines, etc.]. It was under such conditions that the construction of the Hibner housing area

has commenced in Wolonin. The same applies to the Young People's Housing Settlement in Nowy Dwor and the Kopernik housing area in Grodzisk Mazowiecki. This phenomenon is not so rare even in Warsaw. Lack of prepared land and the difficulties with land acquisition are also slowing down construction of single-family housing.

Jerzy Kubiszewski, director of the [Warsaw] Capital City Urban Development Board, has shown that there is a need to increase the completion potential of the engineering enterprises based on creation of a voivodship fund for development of technical infrastructure and as assurance of domestic production of technical equipment for the engineering enterprises.

The important thing is to accelerate the implementation of the already started communal investments which furnish heat to the city (this year's deficit is already 900 glal [billion calories--gigacalories] and also water and sewer services.

How to Build?

This question came back in many presentations. However, possibilities are only theoretical. This is confirmed by simple comparison of three figures: Production capabilities of housing factories are some 1.2 million square meters [m^2] per year, assembly capabilities are 900,000 m^2 , while the engineering side can assure only availability of 650,000 m^2 of prepared land. Thus, construction will progress slowly and the results will not be the best possible. The large plate [technology] has failed. The confreres presented many examples of technical difficulties resulting from the application of this, supposedly, modern and effective technology (freezing through the walls, leaking). However, a return to the traditional building methods is not so simple. There is a lack of construction materials, small construction machinery and even the simplest of tools such as trowels, axes and paint brushes. Industry which satisfies the construction industry's needs must adjust its production. It is also necessary to create, or reactivate small production workshops of construction materials.

In the meantime, the construction industry is not only short of standard and hollow bricks, but also other raw materials: reinforcing steel, flooring inserts, insulating materials, thermal insulation, latex paints or even kitchen sinks and nails.

"I deduce therefore," said Janusz Kessler, director of the Plumbing Equipment Combine, "that it will be necessary to budget the needs of the capital city's housing construction for the current and the following years, and to effect an increase in material production through the appropriate ministries."

Other confreres indicated the need to reinforce the cadres of construction enterprises. Albin Siwak, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau, spoke about the improper pay policy of the construction industry. It does not encourage any greater productivity or better quality of work. Many people remain in this profession only until they receive housing [TN: construction workers have a 5 percent guaranteed share of housing they work on]. Comrade Siwak remarked that it would behoove us, within the framework of the educational system, to assign to construction work the multithousand army of people who shirk work. It should also be arranged to have assistance rendered to those inhabitants of the Warsaw complex who wish to build their own houses.

Let Us Not Forget Repairs

During yesterday's deliberations on housing construction efforts, another problem was addressed simultaneously: that of saving old housing resources, they are also part of the city's management area, however they are the property of private citizens. While it is true that certain decisions and resolutions have been made in the past on this subject, nothing has ever come out of it.

Reconstruction needs of the Capital City Voivodship, expressed in zlotys, amount to 20 billion zlotys. The problem lies not only in the funding. For many years there has been nobody to perform these repairs because, in 1974, all construction-repair enterprises were directed to new construction sites. The reconstruction and renovation of old housing demand--as stressed during the deliberations--the development of small- and intermediate-size enterprises created expressly for that purpose.

A concern was voiced in many of the presentations regarding the housing needs of the materially most disadvantaged families, and the newlyweds who often live somewhere "in a corner" and often under extremely difficult conditions.

At the conclusion of the plenary session, which was attended by Marian Wozniak, candidate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, and by Zbigniew Madej, deputy premier of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Commission, a resolution was adopted which assigns precisely the tasks for party organizations and echelons in connection with the implementation of investment problems in the Warsaw urban complex. As we read in the resolution: "Food and housing are the very foundation of human existence." It is, therefore, imperative not to allow any worsening of the housing situation at this time. It is necessary to greatly increase the number of housing units being delivered for occupancy and to reduce markedly the waiting time on the housing waiting list.

Also included in the resolution were, among others, a requirement for the administrative authorities to present, within the next few months, a method for solving the differences between new housing construction and the management of old housing reconditioning activities. On the other hand, party members (who are council members) will present to the next session of the Capital City Voivodship National Council a concept for creation, at the office of the mayor, of a consultative-advisory body of the Social Council for Housing Construction Affairs.

Executive Board Meeting

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Apr 82 p 8

[Article: "Meeting of the Executive Board of the Warsaw Committee PZPR]

[Text] The Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee at its 1 April 1982 session discussed assumptions for this year's celebration of the 1 May holiday and evaluated the state of preparedness for these ceremonies. The central observances of the holiday will take place, as before, in Warsaw. Their culmination will be a parade of the working people of the capital city and the voivodship.

The Executive Board of the Warsaw Committee, acting in accordance with the PZPR statutes and the resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, declared that, in conjunction with the current party tasks, the premises which had earlier permitted activities by clubs and seminars have now expired. This pertains to the Karl Marx Discussion Club, the Party and Worker Issues Marxist-Leninist Seminar and the Warszawa 80 [Warsaw 80] Creative Intelligentsia Party Club.

The Warsaw Committee Executive Board expressed its thanks to those party and nonparty activists from clubs and seminars who undertook an activity to defend the party line, in particular in places of employment. The board also recommended that favorable conditions be created to exploit further this activity in party work.

A work plan for the Warsaw Committee Executive Board was also adopted at this session.

Voivodship Party Position on Housing

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Apr 82 p 5

[Position statement of the Warsaw Committee PZPR issued in Warsaw on 31 March 1982: "Development of Housing Construction"]

[Text] As previously reported, the Warsaw Committee PZPR, at its 31 March 1982 plenary session discussed the housing problem of the capital city [Warsaw]. Given below is the text of the adopted "Position of the Warsaw Committee PZPR in the Matter of Development of Housing Construction and Social Infrastructure in the Warsaw Urban Complex."

A home--besides food--is the fundamental basis of life for every man. The high housing deficit in Poland makes it impossible to properly formulate the family life of the citizens and in particular that of the younger generation. It is also the cause of occurrences of sharp social conflicts.

The minimum housing requirements for 1981-1985 are estimated, by the Institute for Shaping of the Environment [IKS], to be 2.2 million housing units. In the cooperative system alone some 1.7 million (members and candidates) are waiting with a fully paidup housing premium.

The needs of the Warsaw urban complex are estimated to run 20,000-25,000 apartments annually. Currently the average waiting period for an apartment is 10-15 years, this figure threatens to become even larger with the growing divergence between the existing needs and the number of apartments handed over for occupancy. This particularly affects newlyweds. That period may grow to 20 years. The Warsaw PZPR Committee has assumed a position that the objective imperative of the moment is to prevent--at all cost--any further worsening of the situation in this very difficult and pregnant matter.

Comparison of needs on the national scale, and in the Warsaw complex, with the current plans, potential for achievement and the actual conditions for implementation of these plans, leads to a conclusion that construction of housing is a social problem which cannot be solved by the builders alone. Despite economic difficulties, the extent of needed tasks which have to be performed by each particular branch of the national economy--for the benefit of housing construction--has to be dealt with in the same manner as was done for the agricultural economy. Only then it will be possible to halt the growth of the disparities between the actual needs and the number of homes handed over for occupancy. This would also create favorable conditions for the development of the housing industry, in all its aspects, in a manner responsive to the society.

As it pertains to housing construction, the resolution of the 18th Warsaw Conference, which stipulates construction of 20,000 apartments annually during 1981-1985, was not achieved last year and will not be reached this year.

In 1981, a total of 14,400 apartments were built. Based on this the estimated number of apartments gained by 1985 would be about 70,000 assuming that construction shall progress without changes in technology or structuring. In order to prevent any further deepening of the crisis it would be necessary to construct, every year, some 9,000-12,000 apartments more than now.

The Warsaw Committee, recognizing the political, social and economic implications of solving the capital city's housing situation, regards as absolutely necessary that the waiting time for housing must be shortened. This is to be accomplished by a systematic increase in the number of apartments handed over to occupancy. This is to be done in such a manner that beginning with 1986 this number would be doubled. This would also permit a shortening of the waiting period for housing down to 5-7 years.

Documents presented by the Warsaw Capital City Office in this respect clearly indicate that in the capital urban complex--as a result of shortcomings of the organizational system or mistakes committed by the participants in the investment process--the following inconsistencies are apparent:

- insufficient construction potential and technical infrastructure as compared to a potential for volume construction;
- improper proportions between the size of the assembly and finishing potential of the enterprises and the production potential of housing factories;
- lowered potential in single-family and cast-cement form of construction as well as execution of major renovations in relation to multifamily construction and to the burdening of renovation-repair enterprises with new construction tasks;
- an ever-deepening divergence between the means invested in the industry and their economic effects;

--a divergence, grown out of technological shortcomings, between the number and quality of houses (this includes, for example, the conceptually and organizationally unsolved problem of providing central heat for some 1,000 completed and occupied buildings);

--wrong numerical proportions of workers, both in specific construction specialties and in the relationship between the directly producing and the total numbers of workers;

--disappearance of a sense of personal responsibility for the quality and the amount of work performed by an individual;

--insufficient fulfillment of particular needs of towns located within the Capital City Voivodship and the city limits of Warsaw;

--lowered proportions of associated buildings construction in relation to domicile housing construction.

The Warsaw PZPR Committee wants the respective social level services to submit, for party evaluation, by the end of the first half of 1982, a method for solving these irregularities. It is also necessary to inform the entire populace of the Warsaw complex that activities are being undertaken to insure social control of the situation.

Disagreements, which could be solved locally, are aggravated by nationwide disagreements which demand immediate solution, among them are:

--the proportion of the quantities of various construction materials produced by various branches of the national economy, in particular insulating and thermoinsulating materials, fixtures and finishing materials, wiring and technical housing equipment, etc. in relation to the actual needs resulting from realized housing construction objects;

--giving compulsory priority to capital-intensive, material-intensive and energy-intensive construction technologies at the expense of failing to invest in other types of housing construction which could utilize local raw materials and other construction materials;

--insufficient number of spare parts for heavy construction equipment and means of transportation;

--lack of land for housing construction and a conflict with the rules governing the administration of agricultural lands, particularly within city limits; also needed is a stabilization of land acquisition costs;

--the principles of self-financing of enterprises and the costs of housing construction;

--an unhealthy atmosphere as regards the construction worker's profession as compared to the cadre needs of the construction industry, fanned by the news media and worsened by an inadequate compensation system in relation to the harshness of work.

The Warsaw PZPR Committee acknowledges that in view of the extent of the housing problem all party echelons and organizations, state administration organs, offices and institutions and all the participants in the investment process should define and undertake their respective tasks toward the realization of the objective of satisfying the housing needs of the capital city complex.

I. Mission of Party Echelons and Organizations for Achievement of Correct Housing Conditions in the Warsaw Capital City Voivodship

The Warsaw PZPR Committee commits hereby all party echelons and organizations to treat the housing problem with all seriousness, perceiving in it--besides the economic and social aspects--an equally important and specific political aspect.

In connection with the above, the most important task of the Basic Party Organizations [POP] in economic units, scientific institutions and stations, and in particular in those units which are responsible for the achievement of an improvement in housing conditions, the plenum recommends:

- fostering among workers a sense of responsibility for the improvement of housing conditions in the Warsaw urban complex;
- fostering of an innovative posture among the workers and the management cadre in formulating methods of planning, projecting, investment process organization, execution and utilization of housing resources;
- establishment of periodic analyses and evaluations of sociopolitical phenomena resulting from the methods and speed of improvements achieved in housing conditions;
- inspiration of the management cadre, social and youth organizations, scientific-technical associations toward finding of the modern, socially responsive and latest technological methods in solving the housing problems;
- supervision of implementation of their own resolutions and guidelines in the echelons connected with housing problems as well as the undertaking of cadre-related recommendations with respect to workers, enterprises and institutions.

Additionally, party echelons and organizations should:

- inspire and periodically evaluate the activities of persons and institutions responsible for the implementation of improvements in housing conditions;
- examine and exploit conclusions drawn from social and political phenomena in rural and urban housing settlements;
- foster a favorable climate for initiative and enterprise among the self-governing housing bodies and representative organs.

The Warsaw Committee hereby obligates party echelons and organizations, whose activity is connected with housing construction, to produce an implementation timetable of the tasks assigned by the resolutions of the Eighth Plenum of the Executive Board Warsaw PZPR Committee.

II. Mission of the State Administration Bureaus and Institutions, Housing Construction Enterprises and the Remaining Participants in the Investment Process

The Warsaw Committee PZPR considers that in order to achieve an improvement in the housing situation it will be necessary to:

1. Establish, by the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, the extent of those tasks which have to be achieved by the particular branches of national economy in order to have a full assortment of qualitative and quantitative needs of the housing industry.
2. Have the Ministry of Construction and Building Materials Industry urgently prepare a comprehensive program for a gradual transition from the large-plate technology to other technologies which are competitive from the technical and economic points of view, as well as for an enrichment of the construction materials market.
3. Execution by the Ministry of Construction and Building Materials Industry of a reclassification of housing factories from enterprise investment to central investment category.
4. Establishment, by the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, of a team of experts for the purpose of preparation of a detailed cost-formulation analysis per 1 m² of usable floor space in housing construction, using various technologies; to examine influences which play a part in the cost of 1 m² of usable floor space in housing construction by taxation of construction enterprises, repayments of credits, amortization of debt and the cost of corrections of technical shortcomings. The team should also propose a set of factual criteria for evaluation of the activities of construction enterprises.
5. Preparation by city authorities of a comprehensive 10-year plan for the development of housing construction, to include a social infrastructure and the management of the existing housing resources in Warsaw and the Capital City Voivodship. This plan should be the result of a perspective socioeconomic development program of the Warsaw urban complex. The plan should include specific undertakings aimed at a solution of the housing problem in the capital city complex.
6. In order to initiate a process of positive changes within the sphere of fulfilling the needs of housing, it is absolutely necessary that, among others, the following problems be addressed immediately by the city authorities:

A. Housing Requirements

It is necessary to verify current estimates and to establish the actual extent of needs for housing.

B. Management of Land

It is necessary to establish the actual capacity of prepared lands and to designate new land which can be used for housing construction without any harm to the social infrastructure, within the bounds of correct special development of urban complexes and the urban architectural form.

Possibilities of joining service locations for several housing units in one place should be exploited.

Newly gained land has to be made available to cooperative investors, newly created housing construction cooperatives, factory housing cooperatives and in particular to those cooperatives which have at their disposal new and energetic solutions in the field of construction materials. A separate source of land reserves lies in the verification of urban standards. The NAW [?Chief Architect of Warsaw] should prepare an "Urban Standard" for Warsaw, this would intensify land utilization and prevent the wasting of lands earmarked for reinforcement of housing settlements.

Also indispensable is the introduction of a land-management system which would preclude speculation with building lots.

C. Technical Infrastructure and Land Preparation

A review of the current technical infrastructure resources is necessary. This should include a listing of actual needs and the proven production potential of the enterprises active in this field.

Also needed is a thorough analysis and search for new systematic solutions to the technical infrastructure problem.

D. Implementation

Introduction of improvements in previously applied technologies. Implementation of new, energy-conserving construction materials and techno-organizational solutions in multifamily and reduced-height housing construction, including single-family, cooperative and factory housing. Development of potential in the existing housing-construction organizations, as well as development of new, small, cooperative organizations and small construction and housing-renovating enterprises. Undertaking of activities aimed toward the fulfillment of the needs of socialized construction enterprises' cadres, to include cadre personnel transfers, introduction of a system of inducements and rewards, however, this is also to include the retention of the system whereby 5 percent of the constructed housing be allocated for occupancy by construction workers. Also, extensive development of schooling for the deficit-producing construction professions and a change in the social climate respective to construction workers.

E. Utilization and Retention of Existing Resources

It is necessary to undertake comprehensive activities aimed at an acceleration of the rate of modernization of urban housing resources in order to prevent any further loss of value of these housing objects and to undertake repairs and renovation of old, privately owned buildings.

Among the fundamental tasks in this context, one must include: Assignment of an increased potential to urban construction enterprises so that total overhaul and modernizing renovations can be accomplished inclusive of replacement of internal furnishings. Development of their own renovating potential by enterprises of housing economy and by housing cooperatives. For this purpose, it is indispensable to recognize total overhaul as an activity on a par with new construction. A purposeful stimulation of small- and intermediate-size construction-repair enterprises, mainly of an artisan character, should be encouraged. In the nearest future, it will be necessary to make up the considerable backlog in the area of repairs of deficiencies in newly constructed housing (technical and construction faults) which is being currently utilized by urban gminas [administrative parish] and a group of cooperatives.

F. New Organizational Forms

A need exists to raise the prestige of investors, general architects and executive [housing] inspectors and to assign to them cadre assistants. It is also necessary to recognize the total equality of all who are engaged in housing construction because they are taking part in solving a very important social problem. Every new construction organizational form should receive support and assistance of all the existing cooperatives and their unions.

New organizational forms of socialized housing construction must be developed and supported (housing-construction cooperatives, house-construction associations, factory housing cooperatives), as well as individual construction efforts, if they are able to realize their investments without involvement of large enterprises, principally by employment of an economic system which involves a large input of labor by the members themselves. Special preference should be given to those cooperatives which will undertake production of selected materials or house-construction items based on locally available raw materials. Formation and development of small housing-construction enterprises, factory housing cooperatives, etc., demands a change in economic-fiscal and credit policies. It is imperative that the 1 percent interest rate be retained for credits to all housing-construction cooperatives. A citizen have a guarantee of the inviolability of his property.

G. Construction Materials

Independently of solutions on a national scale, which should assure satisfaction of the material-technical needs of the housing-construction industry, one has to consider the possibilities of exploiting the free enterprise of production in housing factories, for the purposes of creating a market for construction materials and manufactured components by utilizing the initiative of their workers. It is also necessary to list all producers of construction materials who, for one reason or another went out of business, and then to undertake appropriate action as soon as possible.

It is also necessary to conduct a detailed inventory of byproducts and waste materials and to update the inventory listings of natural raw materials which occur in the Warsaw region with a view to their utilization in the housing-construction process, to make possible activation of small, even privately owned, shops which will manufacture construction materials and to create favorable conditions for their inclusion in the planned economy.

H. Scientific Research and Planning Base

The City Office [Urzad Miasta] should turn to selected project offices, centers of higher learning and scientific-research centers for assistance in solving the housing problem in the capital city urban complex (technical consultation, new organizational and management forms, new technologies, new materials, etc.).

I. Housing Policy

It will be necessary to reach a plateau of social justice in housing policy by making guarantees of open, socially controlled distribution of apartments and building shares. It is indispensable that concrete actions be undertaken toward actual implementation of the rule that one family is entitled to only one apartment. A simple system of apartment exchanges has to be created and implemented. This system must operate smoothly and be based on economic reasons while, at the same time, addressing fully the needs of individuals. Housing policy should prevent speculation in housing and it should preclude anyone from making an undeserved profit.

All the specified tasks should be included in a detailed plan which would specify, by name, persons responsible for its implementation. This plan should be presented by the City Office to the Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, by 30 June 1982.

In order to maintain constant control and coordination of all activities aimed at a radical improvement of the housing situation in Warsaw Capital City Voivodship, the Warsaw PZPR Committee is hereby charging those delegates to the Capital City National Council who are PZPR members to make (and support) a motion, during the next session, for the creation of a Social Council for Housing Construction.

The committee is hereby charging the Executive Board to examine any specific recommendations reported during the deliberations at the plenum and also those recommendations which have been reported by the individual subcommittees of the Warsaw Committee with reference to housing construction, social infrastructure or housing policy.

During the next plenum, the Executive Board will inform the Warsaw PZPR Committee of any activities undertaken in this respect.

[Signed and dated]--Warsaw Committee PZPR--Warsaw, 31 March 1982

Plenary Meeting

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Article on the plenum of the Warsaw Committee PZPR: "Program of the 1 May Celebration in the Capital City"]

[Text] [PAP] During its plenary session on 8 April 1982, the Warsaw PZPR Committee adopted assumptions for the program of this year's 1 May celebration in the capital.

The plenary session was chaired by Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, the program concept was presented by Jerzy Mazurek, Warsaw Committee secretary, on behalf of the Executive Board.

This year's workers class holiday--as was stressed during the plenum--will be celebrated under special conditions. Never before, during the postwar period, did the party of the Polish communists face such a serious task as today: The struggle for a full implementation of the principles of social justice, for leading the country out of a grave social and economic crisis--as was indicated during the deliberations--that was the struggle for the fate of Polish socialism, for the achievement of social acceptance and for the gaining of popular support for the program of socialist Poland. Thus, the principal ideological assumption for the 1 May celebration in Warsaw will be a manifestation of the will to carry this struggle to a victorious end--as was stated by the confreres. The leading slogan will, therefore, be the necessity to continue, by the PZPR, the 100-year-old tradition of the Polish workers movement.

The focal point of the 1 May celebration's observance will be a parade of the capital city and Capital City Voivodship population. The route will run from Grzybowski Square, through Krolewska St, Zwyciestwa [Victory] Square, Teatralny [Theater] Square] to Dzherzhynski Square. The choice of this route is connected with workers' traditions of this holiday and of the grand history of the patriotic struggles of Warsaw and the country.

The parade will start at Grzybowski Square which was the scene of workers manifestations even in the times of Poland's partition [18-19 century] and during the interim between the two world wars. The procession will lay wreaths at Victory Square, by the Grave of the Unknown Soldier (a symbol of the road taken by Poles to their free fatherland). A similar ceremony will take place at Theater Square, by the monument to the Heroes of Warsaw--there, respects will be rendered to the 800,000 Warsaw's inhabitants who lost their lives during World War II.

In the 1 May parade, the inhabitants of Warsaw will be joined by the leaders of the party and the state and by the leaders of allied parties.

On the day before the 1 May holiday, representatives of the people will lay wreaths at the Gate of Losses in the Warsaw Citadel and on the monuments of distinguished revolutionaries. Participating in these celebrations will be veterans of workers movements from the entire country. They are traditionally invited to Warsaw for the workers holiday.

In the evening hours a gala concert will be given in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture and Learning.

The Warsaw Committee came forth with the initiative to form a Public Committee for Celebration of 1 May in Warsaw. Party and nonparty representatives of the working class, farmers, veterans and combat veterans of the workers movement, soldiers of the Polish armed forces and representatives of the youth movement have all been invited to participate in this committee.

The plenum of the Warsaw PZPR Committee issued an appeal to PZPR members and candidates to suitably celebrate the workers holiday, to make it become an important political moment which will serve toward social unification and national understanding.

Executive Board Meeting on Culture

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by A.L.: "A Duty to Show Initiative; Party in Culture Centers"]

[Text] At the 8 April meeting of the Executive Board of Warsaw Committee PZPR, the topic of deliberations was the problem of party work in capital city's culture centers.

An opinion was expressed during the deliberations that the heretofore exerted ideopolitical leadership of the Warsaw cultural organizations and centers by party echelons and organizations has been insufficient and ineffective. Criticism was expressed with regard to the leadership role fulfilled by the party within the elements of cultural administration. This state of affairs is the result of errors and shortcomings in party work and in the cultural policies of the party during the period preceding the crisis of 1980.

The Warsaw Committee Executive Board formulated an opinion that the road to strengthening the party's position in cultural centers leads, above all, through the program initiative which has to be regained by the party. Out of the session came an opinion that the slogan: "For the unity of the [cultural] center" was, unilaterally understood by the political opposition as meaning: "Unity--yes, party--no." In the centers party members have been and are subjected to various pressures, including outright ostracism. The state of martial law left the party's culture centers in an unusually difficult situation, often forcing acceptance of no-choice situations.

The Warsaw Committee Executive Board came to a conclusion that the basic ideopolitical problem in cultural centers is a false interpretation of the true intentions underlying the fundamental reasons for the introduction of martial law. There is a disorientation in these matters, an inability to reach the nonparty people with the party's reasons, which creates favorable conditions for some clearly antisocialist activities by some of the cultural centers' representatives.

During the deliberations, the Warsaw Committee Executive Board reviewed and accepted for implementation the "Warsaw Theater Program for 1982-1983." In the adopted resolution we read: "The state of martial law has imposed a difficult and complicated political situation on the theatrical milieu. Controversial presentations are welcome on the stages of the drama theater. Many of the presentations try to make reference to the country's current situation, dealing superficially with the subject and frequently in a totally unacceptable manner. Social results of such activities are harmful.

"The theater cannot become a place which fuels a charged social atmosphere," we read further in the resolution, "the theater may not foster political agitation which is meddlesome and detrimental to the socialist state, while on the other hand it should also not become subservient to the establishment and flatter the authorities. It may also not become subordinated to its own needs.

"The social duty of the theater is understood to be the fulfillment of the cultural needs of the public, an obligation to perpetuate the cultural traditions of the nation and creation of new, modern cultural values. This obligation," states the document, "is also equated with a need to present and popularize the contemporary Polish dramatic-literary creations as a valid factor in the socialist society's culture.

"The Warsaw Committee Executive Board also regards as an important aspect of theater activities the activities designed for the benefit of children."

It was also stressed in the resolution that there exists a need to organize public debates and discussions on the subject of the role, character and function of the theater's national repertoire and of the contemporary Polish drama-literary creativity. Also noted was a need to organize a contest for original, new works, translations of foreign art and scenic projects.

A separate paragraph in the resolution was devoted to the Capital City Teatr Narodowy [National Theater]. It stated that its stage should assume the character of an all-Polish institution. This was done as a result of historical considerations and of an interest in the stage which encompasses the entire society. In connection with the foregoing, a far-reaching public discussion should be initiated in order to determine its future role, while at the same time insuring for this theater the best possible conditions for artistic development.

Executive Board Meeting on Education

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Apr 82 p 8

[Article: "From the Work of the Warsaw Committee Executive Board; Situation in Educational Circles; Party Work in Educational Institutions"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee held a meeting on 15 April 82. The first point on the agenda was an evaluation, by the Executive Board, of the sociopolitical situation and party work in educational circles. This was not the first time that this subject came up for deliberations. The situation in educational circles and party activities in those organizations are a subject of constant attention of the party echelons. In the course of discussion, it has been accepted that it is indispensable to direct a unilateral effort of party organizations and educational authorities toward creation of a school which would bring up the children ideologically, formulate a proper citizenship posture among children and youth and restore respect and recognition for work.

A need for a systematic professional and methodological refresher education for teachers has been underlined, in particular for the young teachers. Also a need was noted for a methodological assistance and consultation service. It is needed to cultivate the authoritativeness and a high [social] position of teachers in our society. It is also necessary to utilize all the provisions of the "Teachers Charter" as it pertains to the activities of educational authorities and the party organizations.

The Executive Board has expressed its thanks to the party echelons in city districts and city gminas [urban parishes] for the assistance given to the educational outposts and the the party school organizations. It has also recommended further improvements of Party work in educational circles. The board criticized the status of progress in the construction of new educational centers and the state of repair of the active centers. It was recommended that the Office of the Capital City of Warsaw maintain implementation of investments and repairs of educational centers and that the office periodically inform the Warsaw Committee Executive Board of progress in this area.

Next, the board was informed on the sociopolitical situation and party work in the scientific establishments. These establishments are experiencing serious problems brought about by the conditions of the implementation of the country's economic reform. Today, only those units whose research programs contribute usefully to the national economy have a chance for development. They should receive support and assistance in searching for the best solutions and activity profiles, however, weaknesses should not be sheltered. The verification role here should be provided by the economy itself.

In the course of discussion attention was drawn to many problems encountered by party work in this area. It has been recognized as necessary to show more interest in young scientific workers. An important role in this field belongs to youth organizations; their activities should receive support from party echelons and organizations. In view of the importance of these problematics, the Executive Board decided to return to this question during the third quarter of 1982.

The Warsaw Committee Executive Board also became acquainted with the course of preparations for observance of Labor Day.

The Executive Board on Party Work

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Apr 82 p 4

[Interview by staff writer Andrzej Lawniczak with Ryszard Kucharski, member of the PZPR Central Committee, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee in the Warsaw Automobile Factory, date and place not given: "Party Echelons Closer to Party Organizations"]

[Text] During a session, which was held not too long ago, the Warsaw PZPR Committee Executive Board examined information pertaining to party work in three major vehicle factories located in Warsaw. This information--according to a press release--was prepared by special teams led by members of the Executive Board.

We are talking more openly on this subject with a member of the PZPR Central Committee, first secretary of the [Warsaw] Automobile Factory PZPR Factory Committee, Comrade Ryszard Kucharski.

[Question] The Executive Board of the Warsaw party echelon is surely taking daily interest in the problems of your work. How come? Is it possible that the current contacts between you and the upper echelons are too weak?

[Answer] I do not think this is the case. One of the purposes of the visit to our factory by a group of comrades from the Warsaw Committee, was, generally speaking, to get closer to the people from the basic party organizations by the people from the so-called party apparatus. In the largest factories, it meant getting closer to the party's workers centers. This does not mean that until now there were no such contacts. However, one gets a different impression, a different evaluation of party organization which is based on sporadic contacts, and an entirely different one based on almost daily contact, you may talk directly to the people and hear their opinions.

This was how the work of the Executive Board team looked to us when they were visiting with us for about 2 weeks. First, the visitors became acquainted with the work of the Factory Committee's Executive Board, next they went to see the Basic Party Organization [POP] people in the foundry, tool room, welding shop, etc. They took part in the meetings, talked with people. They got to know us "from the skin out."

The talks were not limited to party matters. They were also interested at our initiatives aimed at an improvement of the crew's social conditions and factory production problems which are very difficult at the present time.

[Question] And the effect of this work?

[Answer] A report, several pages long, on the activity of the factory organization. Similar evaluative reports were performed on the URSUS Tractor Plant and the WARSAW Iron and Steel Works. At the meeting of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, to which we, the first secretaries of the factory committees were invited, the conclusions of the three teams were consolidated. They provide, in my opinion, a foundation for formulation of an activity program for the entire Warsaw party organization.

[Question] Which of these conclusions do you consider to be most important?

[Answer] I would choose two of them. Anyway this is nothing new for us. We have observed these phenomena for some time now: weak effort by the POP and insufficient knowledge of Marxist-Leninist fundamentals among party members, an overly insignificant degree of economic and political education. This becomes apparent during the meetings and in talks with the people.

[Question] What do you intend to do about it?

[Answer] We are establishing a closer contact with the Warsaw Ideological Training Center [OKI]. Party education cannot be limited to purely economical matters only, although at the present time there exists the greatest need for it. We must come out with the ideological theme more aggressively, in a more intelligent manner; we must reach to the sources of Marxism-Leninism, show its fundamentals. We cannot limit ourselves to interpretations which are "binding on a given level."

[Question] What do you, as first secretary of the Factory Committee, gain from the visit of the Warsaw Committee team?

[Answer] We have been living under constant tension during the last several weeks and months. We lack, at this moment, a summation or a realization of what we have accomplished in recent times. However, it surely is worthwhile to reflect in what we were successful, where we did go forward and where we did stumble...

[Question] All right then, in what were we successful?

[Answer] I believe, and the Warsaw Committee's team concurs, that the social commissions which we have created at the factory on our own initiative, are working well. However, the shortcoming lies in that the effects of this work are not being sufficiently followed by the work crews. Why is it so? Today, the life of the people is hard. The pressure of everyday difficulties are so overwhelming that they deform the point of perception--the objectivity of judgment. For example, one does not perceive the magnitude of the effort made by our factory directorate and the party organization to maintain production here--simply so that people would still have work.

Of course, we did not do it to get praises and applause. This is not the case. We only wish that this large dose of criticism which is saturating the society would not disturb the objectivity of a concerned judgment: People's expectations are one thing, however, these--and no other--are the possibilities.

Executive Board on Health Care

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 May 82 p 8

[Article: "From the Works of the Warsaw Committee's Executive Board; In the Interest of the Health of Mother and Child"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee deliberated on 13 May 1982. On the agenda were the problems of capital city's health services in the areas of mother and child care.

The discussion was based on a detailed analysis of this field prepared by the Social and Self-Government Department of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee. Used in the presentation were materials supplied by the Mother and Child Institute, the Pediatric Institute of the Academy of Medicine, Child Health Center, Capital City Center for Mother and Child and also several doctors-practitioners.

The results of a general evaluation of the status of mother and child and the associated fields of medical practice were not favorable. Despite the tremendous gains experienced during the initial postwar decades, one could observe now, for the several past years, a definite decline in the health centers of our voivodship which provide care for mother and child. This evaluation pertains especially to the medical support base, a lack of doctor-specialist cadre and a shortage of equipment at the health service centers which care for mother and child. In the past, the Warsaw Committee presented their respective findings to the city authorities and to the Ministry of Health and Social Care and also to the Institute of Mother and Child. They were never fully implemented.

The current analysis, confirmed by the Executive Board in the course of a discussion based on the presented documents, was undertaken in the course of implementation of a resolution of the Warsaw Election-Programming Conference. The Executive Board recognized as indispensable the achievement of immediate improvement in this field which is so important to proper biological growth of the future generations.

In connection with the above, it is of utmost importance now to accelerate the rate of repairs of the mother and child health care centers. Extended repair activities preclude normal use of a greater portion of the hospital beds and cause excessive overcrowding in other working installations. A particular example of neglect is the state of repair of the hospital located on Karowa St. Of equal importance is the restoration of order in the educational and employment system for pediatricians and the removal of the, sometimes glaring, inadequacies of equipment in the pediatric centers. Also needed is to furnish necessary assistance for the city's health services from the health services subordinated to other ministries and of those subordinated to the Polish Academy of Sciences.

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POLAND

SZCZECIN 3-4 MAY YOUTH DEMONSTRATIONS DISCUSSED

Commentary on Disturbances

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 5 May 82 pp 1,3

[Article by Macz]

[Text] On the morning and early afternoon of Tuesday, 4 May, there was talk about yet another "demonstration" at Orzel Bialy Square in Szczecin. However, since peace and order are of utmost importance to us, we thought it was only a rumor circulated by irresponsible people.

We were wrong. In the afternoon, participants in yesterday's riots, dispersed by the militia, began to gather at Orzel Bialy Square. To be sure, there were fewer of them, but once again they placed young people and children in the front line. Once again, the area around the Szczecin cathedral became the place of the clash.

The stones hurled at the militia on Monday had not yet been removed from the streets, when more stones and bricks began to swish in the air. Once again, according to an earlier plan prepared by the underground "headquarters," the cathedral was to become a trap for the militia searching for rioters. Bloodthirsty leaders and instigators of the riots who had not been detained the day before once again pushed people to action. As on Monday, young people took to the streets. According to initial estimates, 95 percent of those involved in the Monday street riots were people under 30 years of age. The statistics are terrifying.

Two hundred and forty-nine people, detained for their especially active participation in the Monday incidents, received a preliminary court hearing. The inspirational and organizational role of the antisocialist and antinationalist opposition has become very clear. When asked about the reasons for their participation in the riots, most of the detainees mechanically recited a memorized formula: It was a mistake and a misunderstanding, I just happened to be there.

For our commentary on the Monday street riots, we chose this title: "The Guilty Ones Cannot Expect Leniency." Yesterday, the deputy voivodship public prosecutor, Stanislaw Baniak, Ph.D., publicly informed the people of Szczecin

that the voivodship as well as Regional Public Prosecutor's Office have begun summary proceedings against individuals involved in the Monday incidents. The first indictments will be ready soon. Under the circumstances, the sanctions will be most stringent. There is no possibility of probation. Sentences for organizing and instigating actions in violation of the law may be up to 15 years in prison.

The Monday incidents had another sad conclusion. According to a statement by the Szczecin health care authorities, 25 rioters needed medical assistance and 3 of them have been hospitalized.

Seventeen militiamen have also been hospitalized, including five in serious condition; 68 militiamen were injured and required medical assistance.

Twenty-seven high school students and 18 college students have been detained for their documented participation in the Monday riots. One of the detainees is under 15 years of age; 27 others have not been gainfully employed in a long time, although they are of age.

On Tuesday, I witnessed a conversation by a group of grade school students. Those youngsters were talking about going to downtown Szczecin because there is something exciting going on there.

It is the responsibility of teachers to join immediately in a widespread action in order to inform the young people about the game they are being involved in, about the danger that lies ahead of them and about the tragedy that their families may face.

This morning the streets of Szczecin were a lamentable sight: leftovers from "barricades," smashed sidewalks, and broken windows. Two hundred and thirty participants in the Tuesday riots have been arrested. We still do not have complete information about the number of people detained for curfew violations. The city commander of the Citizen's Militia, Lt Col (Master's Degree Holder) Marian Kostka says: "It is young people again. At present, 41 youngsters have been detained in our Militia Juvenile Chamber. Today, at 2 pm, the first group will be picked up by parents and school principals and released."

"What time were the incidents over yesterday?"

"At 10 pm. But the unrest at the dormitories of the Szczecin Technical University continued until very late at night."

"To go back to the participation by juveniles. Who are the children detained in the Juvenile Chamber?"

"Students enrolled in Szczecin schools. Some of them had been detained in the chamber before."

"What is your estimate of the damage done to the city?"

"It is considerable. We do not have full estimates yet, but last night, at 11 pm, I had a visit from Mayor Jan Stopya and Deputy Mayor Zdzislaw Pazala, and we all talked about that. We are speechless when we look at the damage done to the landscaping which cost us a lot of effort. It will now cost millions of zlotys to rebuild, restore and renovate."

Parent, Teacher Discussion

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 10 May 82 pp 1,2

[Article by W. Abkowicz]

[Text] We have written a great deal about schools. "What Are Teachers Saying?" "What Are School Superintendents Saying?" "What Are Preceptors Saying?" But let us remember that during recent days the streets were overflowing with children and teenagers after school, when most parents, with the exception of those working in the afternoon, should know the whereabouts of their sons and daughters. It is true that many children will tell their parents one thing and do another. Nevertheless, parents are responsible for their children after they leave school buildings when classes are over.

Meetings to inform and warn parents have been held in most Szczecin schools. In General High School 1, such a meeting took place on Wednesday, 5 May, at 6 pm.

The school is located at Piastowskie Ave, 100 meters from Kosciuszko Square, within the range of the incidents on Monday and Tuesday. The proximity to the scene of the events might have led to student participation in the incidents. But owing to the teachers' realistic appraisal of the situation, the students have not been involved in the riots.

But let us go back to the meeting. At 6 pm, more than 200 parents gather in the school auditorium. As usual, mothers are in the majority. But about 800 people should have been present, since the school has almost 800 students.

Principal Jan Kujawa does not seem relaxed. He opens the meeting by reading three documents: an instruction from the superintendent's office concerning rules which govern the conduct of students and the work of teachers (the instruction sounds very topical now); student-body regulations; and fragments from the martial law decree.

He then suggests that disciplinary problems be discussed by individual preceptors. He especially recommends that parents check whether their children actually attend classes. He reminds the parents that every school is an institution governed by specific principles, including a requirement that time after school be maximally utilized for studying. In this particular case, the underlying motif is a concern about the students' safety. Therefore the principal appeals to the parents, asking them to supervise their children after school just as teachers supervise the children while at school.

The principal concludes by asking if there are any questions. Applauded by the audience, one of the fathers comments: "You have read from the 'documents,' but you have not expressed your own opinion. Do not intimidate children with legalities."

One of the mothers says: "That is true. It is impossible only to punish children and to scream at them."

Dismayed, the principal explains that life in a civilized country is regulated by laws which should be respected. In every school, the law is represented by a list of students' rights and responsibilities. Although it is displayed in a prominent place, not everyone is familiar with it. There is also the reality of martial law. It is necessary to point out all of these laws in a situation when violations of those laws are likely, and the violations may lead to severe consequences for the students. Luckily, not a single student from General High School 1 has been detained.

The principal also explains that the classes were not canceled during the incidents, although tear gas crept into the school building. The teachers agreed that under the circumstances it would be better if the classes went on as scheduled. Only individual students who did not feel well were sent home. The classes have already been running behind schedule because of the December suspension of classes.

The principal has concluded his presentation, and the parents now meet in individual classrooms and the teacher's lounge. I ask one of the women teachers about the students.

She replies: "Not everybody has been honest, not everybody trusts us well enough to tell us what he or she thinks. The attendance was normal. We have relaxed our requirements a little bit, knowing that students in the area of incidents were not able to study. From what we know, the students resisted direct participation. We had to assess the events as they were happening--quickly and correctly."

"So there is a distance between teachers and students. You do not feel close to one another."

"The young people have a negative perception of our whole generation."

Thus, as if the curtain was raised for a brief moment, I caught a glimpse of the essence of the situation, that is, the parents' spontaneous protests against obvious laws and regulations, a lack of respect for the teacher and barriers between the students and the teachers.

It is high time to get seriously to work over those issues. This is the most pressing goal for the educational system during the next months.

The students of the schools in Police [north of Szczecin] did not join the recent youth riots in the streets of Szczecin although, naturally, repercussions of those incidents reached the town.

Teachers from Primary School 3 in Police, Dorota Janik, principal and history teacher, and Magda Szczygielska, Russian teacher, speak about perceptions and attitudes of primary and high school students in the context of the recent incidents:

"We have discussed the recent events with eighth grade students during our social science classes. I have chosen a question and answer format. The students know that they will not earn my respect if they say things only to please me.

"Most students did not approve of the fact that children and young people took part in the incidents. Only adults should have been involved in them, they said. They also agreed with me that the street riots in Szczecin could hardly be called demonstrations, since demonstrations are orderly.

"The students are confused. They hear one thing at home and another at school. At the age of 14 or 15, not every child is capable of reaching one's own conclusion on the basis of conflicting views. Therefore students often rely on false myths maintained by their parents. My students told me that a seventh grade student overheard a group of older boys talking at a bus stop. They were saying: 'We are going to Szczecin today because there will be things going on there. We will throw some stones.'

"Other students said that college students took to the streets because they were threatened to lose their dormitory and they had no place to go. There were also rumors that a mother with a child in a baby carriage, who walked in front of a group of demonstrators, was beaten up by the militia.

"The girls' response was totally different. Unanimously they agreed that a group of hoodlums was responsible for the incidents. They asked what the parents of the stone-throwing boys were doing at the time. They also said that their own parents would have never let them do anything like that.

"We, the teachers, must work full-time for our credibility. During my history lessons I have never avoided difficult questions which are not covered by the textbooks.

"It is very important to gain the students' respect. Let us take, for example, the students' participation in this year's May Day parade. Our students signed up for the parade, yet some of them withdrew under the influence of their parents. Hence we went to Szczecin for the parade only with those students who wanted to go.

"Our Police group was then pelted with coins by youngsters shouting: 'Do you have enough?' And yet supervisors of that unruly group did not intervene. Does this build up respect for teachers?

"Young people tend to do things to spite others. Therefore one cannot create situations which allow for this kind of behavior. Schools cannot be the only place where students learn discipline. Discipline should start at home.

"Parents take almost no interest in their children. Can you imagine that only three parents came to a recent parent-teacher meeting, although their children have quite good grades and no discipline problems? We try to contact parents' employers in order to urge the parents to take more interest in their children. Unfortunately, enterprises are satisfied only with signing lofty agreements about their cooperation with schools.

"It is also unfortunate that parents do not even look into their children's parent-teacher correspondence notebook, although the parents are required to confirm their children's grades with their signature. We are not concerned merely with poor students. Every child must be praised from time to time. If neither of the parents takes interest in their child's progress, then the child's satisfaction from good grades is negligible.

"I would like to quote from a school in Pasewalk in the GDR with which we have established cooperation. German teachers believe that it is important for children to be raised by an entire society. When children act improperly in the street or in a building, everyone reprimands them. Unfortunately, in our country people are completely indifferent to children's behavior. It is a fact.

"It is also important to continue the educational process in high schools. In our school, we even organize disco dancing for upper grade students. We also organize other after-school activities. But there is nothing of the kind in high schools. When our former students come to see us, they tell us how much they enjoyed their primary school, when they had a true studentbody government. Unfortunately, it is true that in high schools too much emphasis is placed on the learning process rather than on discipline."

Reactions of Citizens, Academics

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 10 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] We have witnessed something that forces us to consider and try to assess causes behind the recent incidents. There is no doubt that the young people involved in the disturbance in the streets of Szczecin were deliberately steered and manipulated. But we--parents, teachers, educators, and youth and political activists--should not use this fact to shun our responsibility. Many people of Szczecin agree with us. This is what some of them have told us:

Jozef Osica, deputy director of the Voivodship Volunteer Labor Brigade [OHP]: "For us, OHP counselors, all this is very embarrassing. Fortunately, OHP youth was not involved in the incidents, which means that our educational line is correct and we are capable of supervising our youth. Special recognition goes to directors and counselors in individual enterprises. To prevent such incidents from happening again, we must use all means to relieve young people from stress.

"In my opinion, we should make the young people aware particularly of the need to maintain order, and we must appeal to their consciousness, which is still rare, especially in schools above the primary school level."

Elzbieta Podracka, retail clerk: "It was chiefly youth. They carried a Solidarity banner, but I wonder whether Solidarity was actually behind all this.

"Everybody wants peace, but one cannot accomplish anything this way. In the street where I live, young people were throwing stones torn out of sidewalks and pavements, and they were devastating flower beds. They seemed to be having fun.

"I believe that everybody wants peace. Everybody would like things to change for the better. But we cannot accomplish anything this way. I think that it is parents who are largely to blame. They should have forbidden their children to leave home."

Aleksandra Kociuba, employee of a LUXPOL store: "Our store is in the very center of the city, on Zamenhof Square, so we witnessed the incidents firsthand. It was quite a shock to us, since each of us has children. We can imagine what would have happened had our children been involved. There are 11 of us in the store, and we are all incensed that riot instigators used children. Blind, confused and bull-headed, the children were manipulated by the instigators. We saw a 20-year old man pass out signs to teenage boys. We saw cars pelted with stones.

"We are speechless in our condemnation of those who instigated young people and children. Those reprehensible incidents should not have happened. It is beyond our comprehension why parents had not supervised their children more closely. After all, everybody knew what was going on. Do the parents of those boys have no influence on them? Are they so overburdened with everyday responsibilities that they cannot look after their children? We ourselves work here until 7:00 pm, but each of us relies on relatives and friends. Even if parents work in the afternoon, somebody should look after their children, especially at a time like that. We hope this will never happen again."

Professor Tadeusz, dr habilitatus, the rector's plenipotentiary for youth affairs at the Pomeranian Medical Academy: "Naturally, I cannot speak for the entire studentbody. I can speak only for that segment of the student community which I am familiar with through my daily contacts. This segment of the studentbody has acted most properly. There is nothing that we should be ashamed of. Our youth represents various views, but they all agree that one should avoid doing things which may hurt the whole society and the country. Everything about those incidents that should be condemned has been condemned by our students, although they are concerned that the student community has unjustly received a lot of bad publicity."

Prof Tomislaw Matyszewski, engineering Ph.D., chairman of the Department of Construction Materials Technology at the Institute of Civil Engineering at the Szczecin Technical University: "Based on my observation, I can say that students had no intention of participating in the recent incidents in our city. The best indication was the fact that they had displayed posters calling for peace and order, warning against provocation, and urging

students to stay with friends and relatives rather than in dormitories. Such posters were everywhere, including our department. I have to point out that class attendance was normal. To be sure, I am glad that order has prevailed, but it is the future that will put those sad incidents in their proper perspective."

Associate Prof Janusz Birkenfeld, engineering Ph.D., chairman of the Department of Shipbuilding Materials Engineering at the Naval Academy: "I find it very difficult to talk about this. I think it is still too early to assess those sad events. But I also think that the academic community should not be blamed for the incidents. I strongly support the academic community. One should realize that there are over 12,000 students at Szczecin institutions of higher learning. It is laudable that an overwhelming majority of those students had a good sense of what was going on and thus displayed great maturity. There was probably a handful of those who yielded to crowd psychosis. But one should look for causes somewhere else, definitely not in the academic community."

9852
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POLAND

BACKGROUND, TRAINING OF OFFICER CADETS EXPLORED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 18, 2 May 82 pp 6, 7

[Article by Zbigniew Damski: "Is It Easy To Be an Officer Cadet?"]

[Text] Sergeant of officer cadets, Tadeusz Wojcik, a solidly built man with a mustache, does not hesitate for a moment:

"No!"

Well, Wojcik may have special reasons to utter this decisive: "No!" Married for almost 3 years, his wife with an almost 2-year old son are in Bychow, not far from Lublin, 50 kilometers from Poznan. In normal times he went home once a month for 48 hours. Now, since martial law...

"But that's not all..."

Well--what is it then?

"Generally speaking, an officer school has its own special characteristics," Wojcik is thinking out loud, "and it's very different from civilian colleges. In any event, anybody that comes here looking for an easy life will be disappointed. And there are many such people."

I ask directly: and what about him? Is he disappointed or has he "found himself?" He should know by now, after all in a few months--a promotion.

"I found myself," he says, "because that's what I wanted all along. I didn't come here blindly. I simply chose this kind of school and the political faculty because it interested me."

He had time to define his interests. The year of his birth--1957, technical high school(!) where he was active in a youth organization as head of the school's self-government, then he "attacked," without success, the law faculty at Lublin's UMCS [Maria Sklodowska Curie University] and after that he was drafted into basic service in the navy. While running on a sandy dune in Ustka, he decided: an officer school. In June of 1978, he took the entrance examination for the USMW [Higher Naval School]--and a new defeat.

"I wanted to major in politics but that year the entrance examination in mathematics was initiated. Had I known earlier, I would have prepared better, so... Two days later I found myself in Poznan: different uniform but profession and specialty the same..."

Profession? Wojcik had a profession: technician-mechanic. Not bad. In the Truck Factory where he worked before he was drafted his final salary was 6,200 zlotys a month.

"But the work was not easy," he remembers, "I worked in a smithy at an automobile forge with a forging pressure of 2,500 tons. I was handed items, each red hot and weighing 8 to 12 kilograms. I had to throw over 20 tons..."

"But I bet," sergeant of officer cadets Krzysztof Barylak, dark, not too tall, laughs, "that during your shift you didn't drink as much water as I did during mine!"

He explains how much water had to be drunk by a smelter working at a fluidized bed oven at a copper mill: it's hard to believe just how much! But this is the kind of specialty one learns when one attends metallurgical high school in Katowice and receives the diploma of technician of nonferrous metals. Barylak started out for Katowice from his native Szklary, not far from Zabkowice Slaskie. But before he found his way to the Glogow II Copper Mill, he had tried to make it in the Mining and Metallurgy School in Cracow.

"Two months," he says, "but you cannot study in a civilian school without the help of your family. Financial help, that is. But not everyone can afford it. I had to go to work..."

The notorious 5,000 zlotys a month pay. The idea to go to the school of officer cadets was born earlier, but Krzysztof Barylak made it happen in 1978. He was admitted to Wroclaw "engineering school" without having to take the entrance examination: that is the kind of grades he had on his records from the technical high school.

"There was a mixup with the papers, however," he remembers, "and, to my great surprise, I was offered studies here to the "armored school."

Today Barylak is as old as Wojcik: 25. When both of them were making their final lifetime decisions concerning enrollment in the officer cadets school they were mature men, with considerable life experience.

"In comparison with those who come straight from high schools we are almost 'grandfathers'," Barylak interjects. "Among those, however, there are the most dropouts. They come while they are still in the dark, everything they know about the school and their future profession comes from the information booklet 'The Army, College Education, Profession.' That's very little, especially because the booklet glosses over many matters--and this causes many clashes with reality."

"They shouldn't advertise, they should inform," platoon officer cadet Grzegorz Gryguc declares emphatically. "Really: why should a young man attempt to be released after 4 months, why make trouble for yourself and the school?"

Gryguc is attending the third year, even though he is only a year younger than Wojcik and Barylak. As a "civilian" he is a waterworks technician with 2 years of work behind him at the District Waterworks Enterprise in his native Gizycko. When he began looking into higher education, his father, a former guerilla from the Bialystok area suggested: "The army. It's assured bread."

"Anyway, for the usual, full time civilian studies there simply wouldn't be enough money..."

He was not "in the dark" when he went to Poznan. He had a friend there who told him exactly what's what. And when he found out in addition that the school has a great volleyball team...

"And really: here we have pretty good conditions for training and games and our school team is great."

One thing strikes me, however: all three have been educated as technicians--but they have chosen the area of politics. And in the "armored school" which of course is in the area of technology and in which the "commander profile" should have been, in theory, more in tune with their civilian education and interests. But all three agree: "We have not chosen this area accidentally. We came here after we made the decision that our future should be exclusively in the area of politics."

Why? It is stylish to do scientific "motivational studies" but sometimes it is better to replace them with a simple question: What did they know about the job of political officer? Didn't they think perhaps, that this job would be "cleaner, more of a desk job than activities at the exercise fields?

"Maybe I even thought that at one time," Barylak confesses, "but not today. It's not at all an easy job. It requires, perhaps, a special disposition, but also extensive knowledge. I was convinced of that even during my first year of studies: we have much more material to learn than commanding officers and much less free time."

"When I enrolled here I knew it would be hard," sergeant of officer cadets Piotr Goscinski adds. "But I didn't expect this much work and such a variety of subjects..."

Goscinski has special status, even though he is the youngest here (born 1960); he has joined the accelerated program. After the first year the average grades of students were gathered, those with the highest scores were chosen, this was then verified, and those with the highest scores underwent psychological tests and other examinations. And that's how Goscinski started the accelerated course which of course requires more work.

"I came here," Goscinski says, "together with Grzegorz and today I am studying the material of the same year of studies as Tadek [Wojcik] and Krzysztof: the fourth. I completed the whole year."

I voiced my surprise that he still had to observe strict hours of the so-called "independent study period," but it was immediately explained to me that in school the order of the day is sacred. And making all the hours, from reveille to lights out fully productive. This is also one of the causes of frustration for people who came here to study, thinking it would be the way it's done in civilian colleges. Is it easy to get used to this? No. Actually, it's very difficult, but: something for something. This should be remembered, as well as the fact that this is the army.

"One can get used to it, however," Goscinski declares, "even though the 'collision' was quite painful to me, since I came to this school straight from high school."

Why didn't he choose the "artillery school" in Torun, his home town? Well, too close to home. When a man starts out to be independent, this kind of distance is better because it's less tempting.

"I was away from home from my youngest years," Barylak remembers, "technical high school, work: I became independent very early so I was getting used to the rigors with great difficulty. I understand that this is the army, but in school we could use more freedom and independence. After all, these qualities will be required of us in our work--but how are we going to acquire them, when a guy is led by the hand?"

Barylak touched the tender spot: that's just it, independence. They understand military rigors proceeding from the letter of regulations. They understand the necessity of maintaining military order--after all they will soon be requiring it of their subordinates--but they claim that all that could be accomplished easier and faster by allowing people greater independence. Even by requiring it of them! But in the meantime...

"I can't shake the feeling," Wojcik says, "that we are still treated like children."

Overreacting? Perhaps. A man about to have his appendix taken out is absolutely convinced that his illness is the most terrible and requires the most attention and care; for a surgeon this is the simplest, routine operation, and the guy with the appendix--a successive case on the table. An officer cadet, even the student of the fourth year, with the right to live in twos in a dormitory room instead of a general room with a whole bunch of other privileges--is probably to the school cadre the same successive case.

They cite many such examples of being "treated like children." Some of those cases are quite insignificant and others less significant (surely the 2d Lt Leszek Lezanski, youth instructor of the school's political faculty and its graduate 3 years ago, who attentively listened in on our conversations,

remembers them) but the general tone is more or less thus: less punctilio-
ness, more trust.

"Of course, according to our strength and abilities," the fourth year
students declare, "since we are getting ready to 'fly away,' writing our
final papers and are about to be promoted..."

The papers pertain to many areas: political science, history, philosophy.
Subjects are picked from a list (this is also considered as "leading by the
hand"), but it is possible to find satisfaction in writing them and to
present the acquired knowledge. 'Principles of Sigismund Freud's Theory of
Psychoanalysis,' 'Enactment of the Helsinki Accords in the Light of Successive
Meetings in Belgrade and Madrid,' 'Structuring Teaching Material Taking One
Subject for Party-political Work As an Example,' 'Reconstruction of Cultural
Life in Poznan During the Period from 1945 to 1948'...

But what about tanks?

"We learn about tanks, too," they assure, "all 4 years, because that's how
the program in our school is worked out. We shall probably be pretty good
specialists in that area when we leave, even though we have fewer classes
in this subject than the future commander officers."

Here I found out that the district to which the school belongs, asked its
officer cadets and the School Board of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish
Youth] to do a proposal on the topic: What should be done to improve the
school, the teaching process and the program.

"We considered," Wojcik says, "several possibilities: first, one year of the
basic military service and then 3 years of school--this would help avoid
students leaving the school on their own request, which happens often during
the first year. Another possibility was to have the same educational program
for both political officers and commanding officers during the first 3 years
and specialization during the fourth year. We presented the second proposal
with full justification and it was even received favorably."

I am making a mental note: no, children are not usually trusted with such
assignments. The same goes for independent assignments in the field
operational groups functioning in the voivodship. There were such assignments.

"We probably passed the test," they say, "now the final exam at school is
coming very soon. We will pass it too."

And--if I know anything about life--in a few years they will remember the
school with affection and perhaps with nostalgia: it was fun!

9959
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SEJM COMMISSION DISCUSSES PROPOSED TEACHER EVALUATIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ryszarda Kazimierska: "For the Academic Community. Important Views of the Commission on Science and Technological Progress"]

[Text] ZYCIE WARSZAWY yesterday printed a brief announcement which read as follows: The "Sejm [Parliament] Commission on Science and Technological Progress familiarized itself with the report of the science ministry on the subject of faculty evaluations currently being conducted and adopted an opinion on this matter."

Today, we owe our readers more detailed information on the subject. We will begin from the end, i.e., from the opinion adopted by the Sejm deputies and presented to the minister--Professor Benon Miskiewicz. The opinion reads as follows:

"On 26 May 1982, as a result of numerous interventions and questions raised on the matter of faculty evaluations requested by the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology in a letter dated 14 May 1982, the Commission heard the minister's explanations on the subject. The commission accepted the minister's statement that:

- a. addendum to the letter contains only guidelines pertaining to completion of work conducted at the higher schools on the basis of the ministerial decree of November 1979.
- b. personnel action taken as a result of faculty evaluations is entirely under the control of the academic authorities.

The Commission appeals to the minister for expedient forwarding of the content of the explanations presented to the commission on the matter of methods, by which such evaluations are being conducted, to the higher schools, and for giving special attention to the uniformity of language used in legal documents being issued so as not to create the impression that such documents are not in accord with the new law on higher schools."

The opinion is a parliamentary opinion. What lies behind it? The anxiety of Sejm deputies. And what causes their anxiety? Well, that is the crux of the matter...

After the Sejm passed the law on higher schools (at a session on 3-4 May of this year), Sejm deputies held meetings in academic communities, asked for opinions, and wanted to know how the law passed by them was received by the interested parties (at an emergency session of the commission on 26 May, Sejm delegate Waldemar Michna stated that, among the members of the faculty in Wroclaw, the law was accepted very well; Sejm delegate Hanna Suchocka conveyed a similar opinion from the university center in Poznan). Sejm delegates also held meetings with the students and faculty that were devoted to the need for national understanding in conjunction with the Sejm statement which was adopted on 3 May and appealed to all Poles: "let the general, patriotic movement for national rebirth include the broadest circles of society; let everyone, who is not against the principles proclaimed by us, join us in heart and mind and in thought and action in implementing these principles."

And just then, only a day after 13 May that took on a different form at different schools, the minister's letter dealing with faculty evaluations was received. A specific point in regard to adjuncts caused agitation and unnecessary tensions (the point is that an adjunct who has not obtained his habilitatus degree within 9 years of his academic work and who has no hopes of obtaining a qualifying grade within 2 to 3 years, should be moved to another position or discharged. The ministerial usage of "should" was understood by some rectors as "muse." However, such an imposition of the minister's will would have been contrary to the spirit of the law which was approved by the Sejm and becomes effective on 1 September of this year.

In this situation, Sejm deputies, who are anxious about the repercussions created in the academic centers by the minister's reminder about faculty evaluations, asked Minister Benon Miskiewicz for explanations.

Minister Miskiewicz reminded that on 30 November 1979 all schools were approached with uniform faculty evaluation sheets. Review of the faculty was to be completed by 1 January 1980 but was not completed on this scheduled date. Then the hot summer of 1980 arrived. In the months following August, the matter of faculty evaluations was pushed aside. Nevertheless, some of the schools continued the review of their faculty. For example, in Wroclaw, the evaluations were completed in March of this year. As a result of the review of the faculty, 43 persons will leave the school, including two adjuncts. The Academy of Agriculture in Warsaw has also completed its review of the faculty--several other institutions have done likewise. Others needed to be reminded. The more so, because in April of this year a general review of state personnel was conducted. The minister was thus reminded at the end of April to accelerate the completion of faculty evaluations.

Minister Miskiewicz also explained that the word "should" does not mean "must" but is solely a suggestion for the rector.

We will not report on the Sejm deputies' entire discussion which took place at an ad hoc session of the commission after the plenary session of the Sejm, i.e., in the late evening. Let us only mention that the atmosphere was heated and hectic. We would also like to note the constructive response of Professor Witold Zakrzewski: "if we are to eliminate tensions, we must build brigades of confidence." The deputies from the Commission of Science and Technological Progress, in formulating the aforementioned opinion addressed to Minister Benon Miskiewicz, were guided by this very idea.

CONTEMPORARY NEOFASCIST MOVEMENTS EXAMINED

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 26 May 82 and 2 Jun 82

/Article by Mihai Milca in the "Apodictics" section of the column "Political Ideology": "An Ideology Definitively Condemned by History"; Parts I and II/

/26 May 82 p 9/

[Text] Is fascism now an ended historical phenomenon or, on the contrary, far from having died and been buried along with the past at the end of World War II, is it transmitting its dreadful extensions, the terrible specter of threats and horrors, to our times, constituting an ever possible danger? We must recognize that, no matter how much it may displease us, such a question is unavoidable and painfully and dramatically topical. The term "fascism" was and still is used in a broad way, the adjective "fascist" often being associated with ideological and political manifestations of the most diverse kinds, with political regimes and movements that either claim descent from the experience of Hitlerian National Socialism or Mussolinian Fascism or claim descent from an authoritarian rightwing, conservative tradition, and so on. As Italian researcher Renzo de Felice points out: "To speak of fascism as one of the great historical phenomena of our century is correct, but it must be specified that it does not extend beyond Europe or beyond the period between the two world wars." The phenomenon has typically European roots, was generated by a crisis situation that followed World War I, and has certain historical characteristics. However, it is no less true that, besides all these particular aspects, there is a paradigm, a general typology of fascism, reducible to a certain manner of gaining and exercising power, to a certain form of total domination of society, that is also valid in the case of political movements and regimes that lie beyond the European area and the interwar period.

The recrudescence of neofascist manifestations in a number of capitalist countries in the West draws attention to invariants of the fascist phenomenon, to general conditions, causes and implications depending on which the reactivation of the phenomenon as such necessitates a more careful sociological and historical explanation--the dropping of certain cliches and patterns of thought--that would take into account the evolution of social development and of the political systems in the contemporary world.

From this viewpoint, the thesis of West German researcher Ernst Nolte, according to which fascism died in 1945, the phenomenon thus becoming susceptible to study from a scientific viewpoint, is correct only up to a point. Fascism as a political

phenomenon inherent in a specific stage of development of the capitalist system and of exaggeration of its contradictions goes beyond the limits of a historical interval bounded by the two world wars, both in its nature, in its essence and typical manifestations and in its consequences for the character of our era, for the world in which we live.

There are objective causes and conditions that favor, now as before, the appearance and proliferation of fascist and neofascist manifestations in the West. A society in a crisis or adrift constitutes the most favorable medium for fascism. Even if some manifestations of neofascism seem to indicate in comparison with the traditional variants--Nazi and Mussolinian--some changes of tone and of a tactical order, the strategy and ideology of neofascism do not differ fundamentally, in any way, from those of interwar fascism. The same antidemocratic and antihumanistic penchant, the same virulence against the values of reason and morals, the same intolerance and the same criminal exclusivism of a racist and chauvinistic stamp, the same cult of violence and death, the same predilection for the use of provocation and diversion in current practice, animate both the old and the new fascism. The range of Neo-Nazi and neo-fascist manifestations is extremely wide: from the attempts at historical "rehabilitation" of Hitlerism and Italian Fascism and the "nostalgic" evocation of them, to the profusion of the terrorist acts against the leftwing forces and of the assaults against the democratic institutions, from the intensification of the manifestations, meetings and demonstrations of the organizations of the former SS-men, to the multiplication of the acts of violence against immigrants or colored workers, from the existence of military dictatorships practicing fascist methods of elimination of political opponents and totalitarian domination, to the interpenetration of the interests of the fascist forces with those of financial and economic circles connected with monopoly capital, from the formation of a "black international" of the neofascist and extreme rightwing movements, to the attempts at a coup d'etat or at destabilizing the constituted political system. Analyzing the methods of infiltration to which the neofascist and extreme rightwing movements resort within the Western democratic political system, Belgian researchers M. Benjamin and J. M. Dethy, in their work "L'Ordre Noir (Les Neo-Nazis et l'Extreme-Droit en Belgique)" (Pierre de Meyere, Editeur Paris, Brussels, 1977), state: "Fascism slips craftily into the ranks of a part of the traditional Right in order to strengthen the conservative action and limit the progressive tendencies. The goal of the extreme Right: to get itself into power by any means, to set up an autocratic, irremovable and plenipotentiary government (for example, Pinochet, Franco, Salazar, the Greek colonels and so on)." The attempt of these movements is based on an empirical mixture of violence and corruption, threat of force, blackmail and shameless demagoguery.

The strategy of the neofascist movements was perfected as far back as in the period immediately following the end of World War II. At a meeting organized in Malmo in 1951, in which representatives of the ultranationalistic and Neo-Nazi movements in several European countries participated, the spokesman of the Italian Social Movement (ISM)--a neofascist organization claiming direct descent from the stock of Mussolinian Fascism--declared: "We cannot take up all the Nazi watchwords. At least for the time being, the racist and anti-Semitic watchwords must be dropped. We must speak only of anticomunism. We must present ourselves merely as anticomunist movements that are fighting to defend Western, Christian culture and so on. This will cause us to be tolerated."

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Text Neofascist propaganda abandoned, at least temporarily, the discredited motifs and slogans, adopting a part of the watchwords of the traditional Right. In fact, the "cold war" constituted the most favorable climate for the "gestation" of the neofascist and Neo-Nazi movements in the period immediately following the war. The anticommunist imprecations come to strengthen a somewhat "renovated" conception in which the conciliation of nationalism with "Atlanticism" and the "new European order" takes place, the latter being counterposed to communism and the socialist countries. "We have turned from the old nationalism to the new patriotism," the leader of the English fascists, Oswald Mosley, declared at one time. In the neofascist ideology, the theme of Pan-Europeanism or of a "unionistic" formula under the aegis of a strong nation acquires predominance along with the readjustment and reconditioning of the old racist ideas. For example, in the pages of a book written at the beginning of the '60's, Mosley militates against the "wide crossbreeding" between the different human races, vehemently demands the defending of the "purity" of the white race, speaking out against mixed marriages, against colored citizens and against immigrants coming from Asia and Africa. In the best fascist tradition, the neofascists of Mosley's type replace the problem of social conflict and contradictions with the national problem and racial conflict. The slogan of a Europe unified under the standard of the anticommunist struggle and opposed to the "dissolvent" influences of national and racial mixtures becomes a leitmotif that no longer leaves any room for doubt about the character of the neofascist movements and the goals pursued by them. In the best spirit of their predecessors in the interwar period, the neofascists turn to rabid criticism of the bourgeois-democratic state and its parliamentary institutions. Declaring themselves unconditional adherents of a formula of authoritarian, dictatorial government, of discretionary methods, the neofascists undermine in every way the normal functioning of the state, trying to discredit the democratic institutions, to artificially create moments of political tension, to activate the reactionary forces and the circles interested in replacing democracy with dictatorship. The Italian neofascists in particular have asserted themselves in recent years as an active factor in destabilizing the political life of the peninsula through the terrorist attacks to which they have devoted themselves: assaults on prominent people, the wrecking of buildings and headquarters of the leftwing parties, kidnappings and assassinations, bank robberies, the placing of bombs in public places, not even having any scruples about trying to organize a coup d'etat in the eventuality of the entry of the communists into the government. The neofascist conception of the state has not abandoned the totalitarian view of the state's preeminence over the individual and society. However, the statolatry typical of Mussolinian Fascism gives way to a more subtle variant of "organic democracy," in fact a disguised dictatorship of the most reactionary political forces in capitalist society. Neofascism relies openly on everything that can trigger and strengthen a state of vague uncertainty, of psychosis. Public opinion is poisoned with the most fanciful, aberrant and frightening rumors and predictions. The neofascists incessantly raise the idea of the communist plot, of the conspiracy against European civilization, intensifying the fear of change of the lower bourgeoisie and the categories of population terrified of the advance of the revolutionary forces. The verified methods of Goebbelsian and Mussolinian fascist propaganda, the circulation of lies, insistently and obsessively repeated, of simplistic pseudodilemmas raised to the rank of existential alternatives, the exaggeration and distortion of the images of real events, the technique of ideological corruption and diversion--all have become the preferred instruments of neofascist propaganda. Neofascist propaganda has brought to perfection not only

camouflage, infiltration and bluff but also the techniques of action, in "daylight," at the level of public opinion, of the traditional parties and the interest groups. The undermining of the bourgeois political system takes place both on the scale of the public consciousness and on the scale of the practices specific to the parliamentary system, all of whose weaknesses are exploited.

At the present time, the neofascist ideology and, in fact, the propaganda of the neofascist movements are showing a more and more marked orientation toward those theories and doctrines that can furnish new, more refined arguments and theses capable of accrediting a "scientific" character, brought up-to-date, to the classic fascist doctrinal foundations by means of latter-day ideological borrowings. In this regard we point to the medley of ideological preconceptions and motifs characteristic of traditional fascism and the modern "acquisitions" of sciences like psychology, biology and others that have found their echo in the conception of the "New Right."

The neofascist ideology and propaganda, despite their composite character and the big racket that they make, profiting from any occasion, despite their limitless intentions of being an influential presence in Western political life, despite the desperate attempts of their leaders and militants, remain a marginal element that represents only a tiny minority of the body politic. Certainly, neofascism can no longer cause, as it would like, an upsetting of the equilibrium and institutions of Western democracy. However, the extreme rightwing, neofascist movements poison the political climate, the field of international relations, and the danger of repeating the terrible experience of Nazi and Fascist totalitarianism, although not imminent, is not totally negligible. In relation to the danger that neofascism represents, the vigilance of the democratic, peace-loving circles must always be sharp.

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ROMANIA

ROMANIAN FASCISM CONTRASTED WITH ITALIAN, GERMAN

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 26 May 82 and 2 Jun 82

/Article by Radu Ioanid in the "Philosopheme" section of the column "Political Ideology": "The General and the Particular in the Analysis of Fascism"; Parts I and II/

/26 May 82 p 9/

/Text/ Many theoreticians, including Lucretiu Patrascu and Miron Constantinescu in Romania, have recommended in their studies that in approaching the problems of fascism one should start from the analysis of the internal factors that generated, influenced and determined the development of the phenomenon.

Among the attempts to analyze, interpret and explain the nature, essence and manifestations of Romanian fascism, however, one notes some that seem either to deny completely the influence of the internal factors or to simplify it. One of the explanations considers Romanian fascism exclusively an imported phenomenon, a fifth column in the service of foreign powers (Germany or Italy), with the fascist ideologists in Romania representing in practice the ideological mouthpiece of the fascism in the respective countries. The other explanation, it too a reductionistic one, probably starts from the definition of fascism given by Dimitrov (who regarded fascism as being "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic elements of financial capital"--G. D., "Opere Alese" /Selected Works/, Bucharest, 1959, p 416). The definition is correct insofar as it grasps the essence of the exercise of power in a fascist system of government. However, it can be considered incomplete insofar as it does not mention the relative autonomy of the political sphere from the economic sphere, the mediate character of exercise of power within the same fascist system of government.

We feel that there are two key points that, once ignored or evaded, definitely ensure the obtaining of a distorted interpretation of fascism. One of the points refers to the study of the mass basis and social composition of the fascist movement, and the other to the place and role of the lower bourgeoisie in the evolution of the fascist phenomenon, to the lower bourgeoisie's attitude toward fascism and the lower bourgeoisie's manner of relating to it over the course of time.

In December 1937, the "Everything for the Country" Party (one of the titles of the legionary movement) obtained 478,378 votes, representing 15.50 percent of the votes cast in the last "elections" in interwar Romania, and the National Christian Party (Goga and Cuza) obtained 281,167 votes, representing 9.15 percent of all the votes

cast. One fourth of the active electorate of Romania voted for fascism (Emilia and Gavrila Sonea, "Viata Economica si Politica a Romaniei, 1933-1938" /The Economic and Political Life of Romania, 1933-1938/, Bucharest, 1978, p 270).

From what social categories were these nearly half a million voters recruited?

Lucretiu Patrascu demonstrated statistically the predominance of the lower-bourgeois element within the legionary movement, showing that its theoretical attitude toward capitalism reflected precisely the position of the lower bourgeoisie. "The lower bourgeoisie is not able to build or, theoretically, to support another form of economic organization. At most, it turns its eyes toward the past, toward the medieval guilds. And when it is a question of capitalism, it would like to master it, to exploit it in order to participate substantially in the gains of the upper bourgeoisie in the name of the 'ethnos' or purely and simply in the capacity of a parasite on it. Which truly influences the legionary 'demands' regarding capitalism" (L. P., "Problemele de Baza ale Romaniei" /The Basic Problems of Romania/, Bucharest, 1945, pp 254 et seqq.). Moreover, anyone who tries to achieve a representative statistical analysis of the personnel of the legion will find that a big majority of them belonged to the lower bourgeoisie.

From the extremely vast literature devoted to fascism, which reflects many schools and tendencies of interpretation of the phenomenon, there follow as invariants a number of general traits of it, which, of course, acquire different weights and accents depending on the concrete historical situations in each country taken into account in the period between the two world wars. We are referring to anticomunism, mysticism, chauvinistic and xenophobic nationalism, racism, the cult of the state, of personal elites, of hierarchical authority, to social diversion, which guided the practice of the fascist movements. The analysis of these traits in their individuality and interpenetration can define any type of fascism both in its specificity and in its similarities to other related movements within or outside the country in question.

Anticomunism. Fascism appeared and developed mainly as an anticomunist movement, and the most diverse fascist movements exhibited unanimity in taking this position. While for situational reasons some traits of fascism became fainter at one time or another, the fight against Marxism, socialism and communism was a constant of the fascist conception. Nor was Romanian fascism an exception in this regard, as is illustrated by the positions taken by fascist doctrinaires such as A. C. Cuza, Octavian Goga, C. Z. Codreanu, Mihail Polihroniade, Traian Braileanu, Al. Cantacuzino, Nicolae Rosu, Vasile Marin and so on. In this regard, Traian Braileanu wrote that the legionary struggle "...is directed against communism and only communism" (T. B., "Sociologia si Arta Guvernarii Politice" /Sociology and the Art of Political Government/, Cernauti, 1937, pp 143 et seqq.). Manifesting themselves as anticomunists, the Romanian fascists unequivocally had in mind, in particular, the policy of the RCP and the mass of its sympathizers.

Mysticism. Mysticism constitutes another unmistakable, invariant trait of fascism. We ought to observe that, depending on the various social, historic and cultural situations and contexts, the mysticism of the fascist movements took forms closer to or farther from the prevailing religions and the church. While the Nazi movement, in open conflict with the Catholic Church and the Lutheran Church, manifested a pagan mysticism, with many elements borrowed from German mythology, Romanian fascism and especially the legionary movement had a marked Orthodox hue. It is not a question

here of the adoption of Christian-Orthodox religious norms by a political movement but of what Lucretiu Patrascanu called "the incorporation and subordination of Orthodoxy to the political goals that the legionary movement pursued..." (L. P., op. cit., p 243). This original trait of the legionary movement was illustrated by many legionary leaders, doctrinaires or journalists, such as C. Z. Codreanu, Ion Mota, Nae Ionescu, Traian Braileanu, P. P. Panaitescu, Constantin Noica, Dan Botta and Radu Gyr. However, the Orthodox religion was "amended" by legionarism, which tried to introduce its own "saints" into its body: C. Z. Codreanu, Mota, Marin and Horia Sima. Thus, Constantin Noica felt that the soul of the Romanian nationality was expressed by the legionary movement: "One who does not believe that the nationalities have a soul does not see, does not feel this extraordinary beginning that the legionary movement constitutes" (C. N., "The Soul of the City," BUNA VESTIRE, 24 September 1940). For him C. Z. Codreanu represented a reincarnation of Joan of Arc (C. N., "The Joan of Arc Process," BUNA VESTIRE, 26 September 1940), while Horia Sima--a mediocre and colorless person--gained special virtues in his eyes: "Today we are under a certain grace, Horia Sima does not put taxes on wages, he activates the souls" (C. N., "We Are Under a Certain Grace," BUNA VESTIRE, 4 October 1940).

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Text Primary, aggressive nationalism, sometimes combined with expansionistic tendencies, constitutes another basic trait of fascism, of its ideology, a trait "...interesting in the sense that it favors the mobilization of the ideas, the sentiments of the lower and middle bourgeoisie. It is therefore a cohesive factor in the sense of the fascist movement in general and contributes to the growth of the prestige of fascism within the bourgeoisie" (Palmiro Togliatti, "Scritti Alese" Selected Writings, Bucharest, 1973, p 13). Fascist nationalism has its roots in the most conservative and traditionalistic currents of political action and thought which preceded it but which never attained the degree of aggressiveness and intolerance of fascism. It presupposes chauvinism, inequality between nations and nationalities, not having anything in common with the progressive nationalism of the young people of the bourgeoisie who fought for national emancipation, with the patriotism of the working class and other social categories. In defining their own nationalism, the Romanian fascists relied on notions like "blood," "race," "the instincts of domination and submission." Regressive and, in most cases, archaic, they maintained an outward and demagogic cult of the ancestors of the Romanian people, considering the ethnos out of touch with social reality, denying its historicity, defining their own nationalism as "an emanation that comes from the very substance of natural things and is materialized in concrete acts" (Nicolae Rosu, "Dialectica Nationalismului" The Dialectics of Nationalism, Bucharest, 1941, p 342).

Racism "substantiated" either by means of "Latin supremacy" (in Mussolinian Italy) or by means of the Aryan myth (in Nazi Germany) is also a constant of fascism, playing, in its different variants (including the anti-Semitic one), a "theoretical" role of justification of ethnic supremacy and a practical role of economic and social selection. In Romania, fascist racism was materialized in its anti-Semitic variant, with anti-Semitism constituting one of the strongly visible traits of Romanian fascism. The fascist anti-Semitic diversion in Romania was a form of political struggle that tended avowedly to replace the class struggle with the "race struggle." Thus, for the legionnaires the main problem consisted of the Jews who were present, for evidently diversionistic purposes, neither more nor less than "...in their entirety in the economic field, the ruling class in our state" (Traian Braileanu, "Sociologia si Arta Guvernarii Politice," Cernauti, 1937, p 82).

Fascist elitism implies the cult of the state, of the leaders and of personal elites. The authoritarian state was opposed to the "classic" bourgeois state, whose institutions could constitute an obstacle to the ascension of fascism. For the fascist doctrinaires the individual existed only in a relationship of total submission to the fascist state, to the supreme chief, with the latter's ineligibility being supported as follows: "The capacity of chief is not the accumulation of certain merits. You are chief because you are chief" (Mihail Manoilescu, "Partidul Unic" [The Unique Party], Bucharest, 1937, p 205). Regarding the fascist elites, they were formed within the fascist party, having to combine austerity, faith and submission. "The fascist party is an order and an army. It is an order through its faith and an army through the unlimited rights that it has over man" (Mihai Manoilescu, op. cit., p 50).

The typically fascist social diversion includes a number of elements that tend to demonstrate that fascism represents the national interests and, simultaneously, those of all the social categories. It unites the ideas of national unity over the classes, the denial of the class struggle, corporatism, the inclinations to get the various specific and contradictory demands, and anti-intellectualism. The Romanian fascists manifested different positions toward the various social categories and classes. The false anticapitalism presupposed in fact simultaneous assurances given to the upper and lower bourgeoisie: "The bourgeoisie has a stable position from an economic viewpoint and promising prospects to gain in legionary Romania" (P. P. Panaitescu, "The Hunger and Thirst for Justice," BUNA VESTIRE, 8 August 1937); "the legionary doctrine provides for the raising of a lower bourgeoisie of well-to-do workers, of artisans and merchants in workshops and stores more than for the protection of large-scale industry based on capitalism" (P. P. Panitescu, "Our Cities," CUVINTUL, 14 December 1940). At the same time, Romanian fascism tried to win over to its side both the peasantry and the working class, avoiding concrete promises, however, through references to dignity, honesty, patience, to the "patron's baton" that every agricultural or industrial worker would have had in his bag. In contrast with Germany and Italy, however, the Romanian fascist parties, being formed mainly as political movements of the lower bourgeoisie, did not manage to attract into their ranks in large numbers members of the most economically disadvantaged social categories.

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BRIEFS

ANNOUNCEMENT FROM CHIEF RABBI--The office of His Eminence the Chief Rabbi announces that he does not take care of requests for assistance which various petitioners present to him. These requests should be directed to the communities in which the petitioner resides and, in the case of dissatisfaction with the resolution, they should be directed to the Assistance Section of the Federation of Jewish Communities. [Text] [Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Jun 82 p 4]

BOBU APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Constantin Dascalescu is relieved of his position as chairman of the Council on Economic and Social Organization and Comrade Emil Bobu is appointed chairman of the Council on Economic and Social Organization. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 52, 3 Jun 82 p 2]

ORTHODOX CHURCH OFFICIALS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Bishop-Vicar Gavril Norocel is recognized in the position of bishop of the Diocese of Buzau and Archimandrite Vasile Zainea is recognized in the position of bishop-vicar of the Archidiocese of Iasi. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 54, 9 Jun 82 p 2]

SATU MARE APPOINTMENT--Inasmuch as one of the positions of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Satu Mare County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Adrian Rogojeanu, director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Satu Mare County, is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Satu Mare County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 54, 9 Jun 82 p 3]

REMOVAL OF POPESCU--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Constantin Popescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of light industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 54, 9 Jun 82 p 3]

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--Inasmuch as the positions of chairman of the executive committee of the people's councils of Bacau, Maramures, Prahova, Vaslui and Vrancea counties have become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of

Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Ioan Bogdan Baluta is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Bacau County; Comrade George Vaida is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Maramures County; Comrade Cornel Burtica is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's county of Prahova County; Comrade Ion Fratila is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Vaslui County; Comrade Maria Ghitulica is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Vrancea County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 50, 24 May 82 p 2]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Ion Stefanescu is appointed first deputy chairman of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education; Comrade Neculai-Similache Mantz is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry; Comrade Nicolae Burbulescu is appointed deputy minister of the chemical industry; Comrade Maria Bobu is appointed deputy minister of justice; Comrade Dumitru Apostoiu is appointed chairman of the Legislative Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest VULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 50, 24 May 82 p 2]

CSO: 2700/302

YUGOSLAVIA

LAW ON POLITICAL CRIMES DISCUSSED, QUESTIONED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 82 pp 10-13

[Article by Jelena Lovric based on interviews of Dr Vuko Gozze Gucetic, former federal public prosecutor, and Prof Zvonimir Separovic: "Do We Judge Too Harshly?"]

[Text] The foreign press occasionally represents us--to meet some needs of its own--sensationalistically as a country with the highest number of what are referred to as "prisoners of conscience" in Europe, that is, of political prisoners who have neither used violence, nor preached it. However, Vuko Gozze Gucetic, until recently the federal public prosecutor (who held that post for 8 years, which gives a certain dignity to his judgments), says that last year was a good year from the standpoint of political crimes, since "except for Kosovo the number of prosecutions was relatively small." Though recently our society has been concerned with what we call hostile activity, there supposedly has not been a great deal of criminal prosecution. Does that mean that for certain reasons--which exactly?--we are exaggerating the dangers of political crimes or that we are not prosecuting them to the extent that we should to judge by the political assessments? Certain authorities--Prof Zvonimir Separovic is an example--assert, however, that the argument that our political crime is insignificant is altogether erroneous, since in a worker, self-managed and socialist state one ought not to expect a large number of political criminals. What is the truth about this sensitive topic, which is wrapped in a kind of mystery, and probably for that reason is also subject to arbitrary interpretations? How much political crime is there in Yugoslavia, and what are its characteristics?

A Fine Line

Last year 594 Yugoslavs were charged with political crimes, which is about half of 1 percent of all the persons charged. This is 77 percent less than in, say, 1972, but compared to 1980 it represents a slight increase of 7 percent, though in Kosovo alone last year the number of people charged with political crimes was tenfold greater than a year before. But on the other hand the number of persons charged was considerably lower in Croatia, where in 1980 275 persons were charged with political crimes, almost the same number as in Kosovo when the well-known counterrevolutionary events broke out in that province.

We were unable to obtain precise figures on the number of political prisoners. But we can refer to the statement of Vuko Gozze Gucetic that there are relatively few persons in prison for political crimes. The foreign press, to be sure, does say that those estimates are not accurate. However, it forgets at the same time that all sorts of things in our system are classified as political crimes, that up until this year nearly 80 percent of the cases had to do with mild forms of criminality for which suspended sentences are pronounced in great numbers--about a third of the sentences were suspended!--and that these are mostly verbal crimes bordering on misdemeanors and punished by sentences of a month or 2 in jail. However, that ratio has changed considerably this year in view of the assessments of the events in Kosovo and then in view of the penalties pronounced.

Aside from that so to speak systematized political crime, there also exists what might be called untried political crime, that is, crimes which did not set the judicial machinery in motion. It might be recorded, but charges were not filed, and there are also the "dark figures," undetected crime. It is difficult and unrewarding to guess its extent, but it is thought by some that Kosovo is evidence that the numbers are not insignificant. Vuko Gucetic noted 2 or 3 years ago that it is "difficult to believe that in a country with 22 million inhabitants only some 30 people operated in an organized way from hostile positions." That is, only that number were called to account for the most serious crimes. A year later it turned out that those guesses and fears were well-founded, and that a much higher number of hostile elements were operating covertly at that time.

Yet the federal prosecutor at that time has also cautioned that "we should not extend the term 'hostile element' to groupings which objectively are not hostile. We need to differentiate consistently the real enemy from those who are reacting in an inappropriate and politically impermissible way. But we should also initiate criminal prosecution against those whose aim is to destroy the system and constitutional order."

It is rather difficult to draw the fine line here between the real enemy and the person whom justice ought not to lay its hand on. The basic criterion, say the prosecutors, is an assault on the constitutional order. However, the number of political offenders there will be and the question of whether that net will be spread wide so as to include all political opponents or only what is truly aimed against the constitution, the government and the people--ultimately depends on the government, that is, on whoever is in power.

"Yugoslavia has a typically revolutionary criminal law pertaining to political crimes," says Prof Zvonimir Separovic. "Aside from the phraseology (before we had 'crimes against the people and state,' but since 1977 they are referred to as 'crimes against the foundations of the social order of socialist self-management and security of the SFRY'), it has not undergone any sort of essential change, no sort of restriction or moderation, but there has even been an expansion of repression against political crimes."

The Guilt of Those Responsible

Prof Separovic explains that we built up that legislation, which is typical of the socialist countries, and that the countries of so-called real socialism, immediately after the war when there was a need to settle accounts not only with the political enemy, but indeed with the class enemy. That sharp edge of revolutionary legislation was manifested at that time in the large number of death penalties for political crimes, and the confiscation of property for the crime of hostile propaganda dates from that period. Although conditions have changed in the meantime, both penalties--the death penalty and confiscation of property--have remained in our Criminal Code to the present day. Only in 1966 did Prof Bogdan Zlataric, a world authority in the field of criminal law, propose at a scholarly meeting that the death penalty be abolished for political crimes. He said that the time has come to think about amending the code, since such frequent prescription of the death penalty for political crimes leaves the impression that we are an insecure society. Yet times unfavorable to such changes were to come. Until the Brioni Plenum the number of political crimes was dropping steadily, but after that large-scale purge, the number rose once again, escalating thereafter in the years of nationalism and liberalism, and increasing once again in recent years after a brief lull.

"It is absurd that in all these years since the war we have not blunted the sharp edge of revolutionary legislation, as though we are truly insecure," Separovic says. "We are fortunately a healthier society, with less aggression, than many others, and in particular less than we might suppose from laws formulated in this way. Why should we not renounce those provisions, which not only stick out like a sore thumb, but are even invoked from time to time?"

According to the figures furnished us by Prof Separovic, there are few countries in the world which envisage the death penalty for such a large number of political crimes, many countries have abolished it, and some of them which have it, do not invoke it for political crimes. However, Vuko Gucetic recently cited the figure that more than two-thirds of the countries in the world have the death penalty. According to the figures of the United Nations dating from 1980 the death penalty has been abolished in 21 states, and partially--where it has not been pronounced in the last 10 years--in 51 countries. Every year in our country, Gucetic says, there are three or four executions carried out. Prof Zvonimir Separovic believes that only the extreme situations of a state of war or political terrorism with victims could justify the existence of the death penalty in our system. He feels that we have had an "extremely rigorous application of political repression." Last year certain distinguished politicians even protested the severity of the penalties pronounced against participants in the hostile demonstrations in Kosovo. In our country, Separovic mentions, the sentence was 15 years of strict imprisonment even for establishing a communist party. "I know that those ties to a particular bloc might be of use to very dangerous forces, but how, then, is one to punish those who establish a Fascist, Ustasha, Ljoticist or Chetnik party? At the same time we have shown extreme tolerance toward those who lost their positions at the Brioni Plenum precisely because of flagrant violation of human rights, and there was even evidence of genocidal actions in Kosovo."

It has recently been asked whether politicians should be subject to criminal prosecution when their mistaken policy has led to serious situations and political failures. Certainly the question is being put concerning Kosovo, but recently there have been also certain other connotations.

"That has not been our practice in the past," Vuko Gucetic says. "We did not undertake criminal prosecution of either Savka Dabcevic-Kucar or Mika Tripalo, and the same applies now to Mahmut Bakalli and Xhavid Nimani. We have always adhered strictly to legality. Responsibility for the political failures in Kosovo is borne not only by the leaders there, but also by certain others in Serbia, in the other republics and in the Federation, who should have spotted the mistaken policy, but they did nothing to prevent that national euphoria in good time.

Number of Persons Charged With Political Crimes

<u>Republics and Provinces</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>%</u>
Bosnia-Hercegovina	76	13.74	50	8.42
Montenegro	2	0.36	21	3.53
Croatia	275	49.73	81	13.64
Macedonia	9	1.63	48	8.08
Slovenia	71	12.84	26	4.38
Serbia proper	65	11.75	53	8.92
SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina	29	5.24	15	2.52
SAP Kosovo	<u>26</u>	<u>4.70</u>	<u>300</u>	<u>50.51</u>
Yugoslavia		555		594

Ethnic Composition of Persons Charged With Political Crimes

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>%</u>
Albanians	386	64.98	Slovenes	17	2.86
Croats	78	13.13	Montenegrins	11	1.85
Serbs	72	12.12	Macedonians	2	0.34
Moslems	19	3.20	Others	9	1.52

Incidentally, it is difficult to say and still more difficult to prove whether, which and how those leaders consciously and deliberately acted in that way; more likely it was usually a case of oversights, of a lack of vigilance. And until intent is proven, they cannot be called to account for a political crime, since the essential thing for such a crime is its deliberate hostile intent. We have quite a few mistaken judgments and assessments in Yugoslavia, not just in Kosovo. Could we say along the same line that responsibility for Obrovac should be classified as a political crime?

The "Crime of Thinking"

We do not believe in such a possibility, but not because it would not be possible under the law as formulated, but for certain perhaps still more important

reasons. The formulations in the Criminal Code--as far as political crimes are concerned--are in the opinion of certain legal experts so broad and flexible that they even cast doubt on the principle of lawfulness and legality.

"We unfortunately have a 'crime of thinking' in an extremely ineptly formulated provision concerning hostile propaganda, with very loose formulations like those 'malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country' which bears a heavy penalty of up to 10 years in prison and indeed even confiscation of property. That formulation has not been altered since 1945," we were told by Prof Separovic.

There is no doubt that hostile propaganda is dangerous, but it is probably equally dangerous to society when some secretary or local prosecutor can label a particular opinion as malicious and untruthful simply because it differs from the official view. Malicious portrayal could be defined in a very malicious way. Recently at a conference with republic and provincial prosecutors Vuko Gucetic mentioned that in a very short period of time the Federal Executive Council in one case and the SFRY State Presidency on two occasions called upon the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office to undertake legal steps against certain articles in the press. One paper was blamed for having published certain views of the International Monetary Fund in connection with approval of a loan to Yugoslavia.

"I read that article very carefully three times, but I could not find anything in it which had not been published several times already and which was not generally known," Gucetic said at the time, recommending that in such cases the prosecutor carefully examine every admonition from the highest government bodies and party organs, seek out their views rather than the opinion of individual politicians regardless of their high positions, and then make an independent decision.

Social Composition of Persons Charged With Political Crimes Last Year

<u>Position</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers	249	41.92
University and secondary students	146	24.58
Intellectuals	95	15.99
Farmers	45	7.57
Pensioners	18	3.03
Private entrepreneurs	9	1.51
Other occupations	32	5.39

"If someone criticizes things which are wrong in society, he is actually exercising his democratic right in an aspiration for improvement. The author of such an article should not be subject to criminal prosecution, but if he is in error, it is up to the political structures to call his attention to that. We should not proclaim every stupidity that is written a political crime, but at the same time we should not overlook true political criminality," Gucetic said at the time.

Actually the principle of selection does operate. A large number of charges for political crimes are dismissed. Except for Kosovo, where last year there were very few such charges dismissed (only 2.5 percent), the range is from Montenegro, where one charge in three is dismissed, to Slovenia, where that is the fate of every other charge. The reason for this, the prosecutors say, is the substantial number of unfounded criminal charges filed by individuals and certain agreed views which the prosecutors adhere to in assessing what is subject to criminal prosecution and what possibly should be tried as a misdemeanor. However, Prof Separovic observed that we ought to be more cautious even with this milder form when it comes to political offenses, since there is less guarantee of the protection of human rights concerning them, and that "we are amazingly severe": the possibility of 2 months in prison afforded by the law is no small matter when we realize that this can be pronounced in "proceedings which are actually very informal."

Political repression is always in tune with society; it adapts dynamically to conditions and needs. A law like ours, with loose formulations and a wide range of prescribed penalties, is rather well suited to such requirements. However, this is not always and exclusively a good thing. This dynamic behavior may also lead the very concept of legality into a great temptation, since dynamic interpretation of justice and lawfulness may also instill some uncertainty. The Criminal Code must guarantee reaction in proportion to the danger to society, but there must be an element of certainty with respect to the possibility of serious consequences. The law must guarantee that nothing will happen to the citizen except what has been declared in the provisions of the law, so that it is not left to the free discretion of individuals to decide whether cannon shall be used to fire on chickens or will be trained on the true enemies.

[Box, p 13]

Nonuniformity of Criminal Prosecution

District public prosecutors and their deputies from several sizable towns in all the republics and provinces have been meeting for the past several days in Titograd. They have been analyzing political crimes in their districts and examining the role of public prosecutors in proceedings for detection of crimes and their consequences.

An analysis prepared by the District Public Prosecutor's Office in Split suggests the conclusion that the extent of criminal prosecution of political crimes is quite uneven from district to district. There are no essential differences in the quota of serious political crimes, since the criteria in this case are firm, but the differences are great in the less serious verbal political misdemeanors and outbursts. It was emphasized that differing and even more or less liberalistic conceptions are possible precisely in this field on the part of investigatory agencies and individuals as to whether something should be reported or not. Stress was put, for example, on the criterion for deeming an insult as grounds for criminal prosecution; such criteria are very flexible and depend on the outlook and customs of a particular community. Such conceptions are also deeply ingrained in the personnel of investigatory

agencies, and they serve as the basis for devising criteria governing judgment, which may be more narrow than those in other communities.

It was also stated that the unevenness in the extent of prosecution of political crimes is nothing recent. This problem deserves particular attention since it touches upon the basic rights of citizens and directly concerns the suppression of political delinquency. Examples are given indicating great differences in the number of charges for political crimes from one republic to another and between Yugoslavia as a whole and the republics. For instance, in Kosovo in 1980, a year before the counterrevolutionary demonstrations, there was even a 75-percent drop in the number of charges for political crimes.

In any case political crimes constitute a negligible percentage of the country's entire crime rate, and the same applies to misdemeanors of a political nature.

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